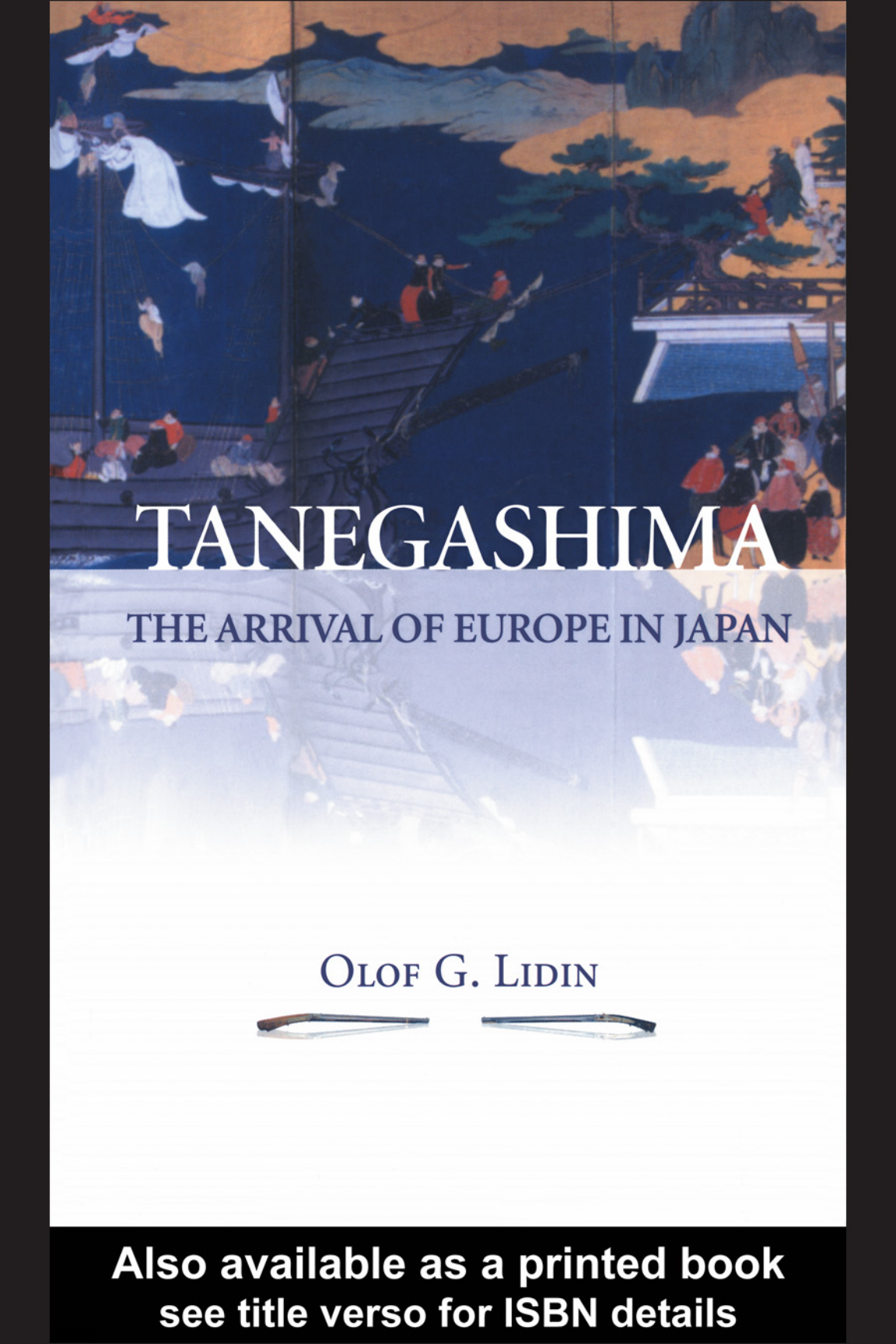




TANEGASHIMA

THE ARRIVAL OF EUROPE IN JAPAN

OLOF G. LIDIN



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Olof G.Lidin


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To the people of Tanegashima

種子島の人々へ

Contents

Preface	xii
Author's Note	xiv
CHAPTER 1 The Arrival of the Portuguese	1
CHAPTER 2 The Record of the Musket (<i>Teppōki</i>)—a Translation	27
CHAPTER 3 Translations of the <i>Tanegashima kafu</i>	31
CHAPTER 4 The Tanegashima Family and the <i>Tanegashima kafu</i>	39
CHAPTER 5 The <i>Teppōki</i> , the <i>Tanegashima kafu</i> and the Historical Setting	49
CHAPTER 6 Fernão Mendes Pinto's Four Visits to Japan, according to the <i>Peregrinação</i>	69
CHAPTER 7 The Record of the <i>Kunitomo Teppōki</i> (<i>Kunitomo teppōki</i>)—a Translation	89
CHAPTER 8 The <i>Kunitomo Teppōki</i> —a Discussion	95
CHAPTER 9 <i>Teppō</i> Production at Sakai	102
CHAPTER 10 <i>Teppō</i> Production at Negoro	105
CHAPTER 11 The Spread of the <i>Teppō</i> on Kyushu	107
CHAPTER 12 Francisco (Francis) Xavier in Japan	112
APPENDICES	
I: The <i>Teppōki</i>	126
II: The <i>Tanegashima kafu</i> (Partial)	131
III: The <i>Kunitomo Teppō</i>	133
Notes	139
Kanji Glossary	188
Bibliography	197
Index	211

Illustrations

MAPS

1. The long route from Lisbon to Japan (based on the <i>Theatrum Orbis Terrarum</i> of 1570 by Abraham Ortelius)	xiv
2. Tanegashima and the approaches to Japan	2
3. Tanegashima and the spread of the <i>teppō</i>	6
4. Detail map of central Honshu	101
5. Kyushu in the late 16th century	108
6. Xavier's travels in Japan	116

FIGURES

1. The original musket brought by the Portuguese and the first musket produced by Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada	4
2. The beautiful Wakasa and the less beautiful Portuguese merchant	8
3. Wakasa, holding the <i>teppō</i> , welcomes today's visitors	9
4. Picture by Hokusai of the first two Portuguese on Tanegashima	18
5. The 14th-generation Tanegashima lord, Tanegashima Tokitaka (1528–79), and his 29th-generation descendant, Tanegashima Tokikuni (b. 1949)	40
6. Title page of Mendes Pinto's <i>Peregrinação</i> (1614 edition)	70
7. Portrait of Fernão Mendes Pinto	80
8. Portuguese trumpeter	82
9. Japanese portrait of Francis Xavier	113

Preface

Beginnings are fascinating—in history as in life generally. A great beginning, if not the greatest, in Japanese history was the arrival of the West. This had to wait until the middle of the sixteenth century, or more exactly 1543, as will be discussed in this exposition. It has been my long-standing wish to find out about and to present the facts about this beginning, which forms a frontier in Japanese history as important as the earlier outset when the Japanese world was confronted with the Chinese civilization. Beginnings have, however, the nature of being difficult to trace—also this beginning in Japanese history. When describing an origin in history it is also important to trace what led up to this origin and follow up in times immediately afterwards. Part of the arrival of the first Europeans was also the arrival of Francis Xavier and the Jesuit mission but there the line is drawn.

The work is focused on the short period between 1543 and 1549, the infancy years of the European (that is, Portuguese) presence in Japan. After the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries a new age begins with lively contacts and yearly reports. These first six years are what is of main interest here because they are a beginning, filled with so many question marks. The discussion has of course been extended to times both before and after but, in the main, the emphasis is on this period. In the centre of the presentation the reader will find the early Japanese works which deal with the Portuguese arrival, the *Teppōki* ('Record of the Musket') and the *Tanegashima kafu* ('Chronicle of the Tanegashima Family'), the first translated in full and the second in its relevant part.

Since the subject deals with a colourful era of East-West relations, it has been easy to find pictures and illustrations to illuminate the presentation. For the scholarly reader, originals of the translated *kanbun* texts are added as an appendix.

During the work I have visited Tanegashima, the location of this historical beginning, several times and to this wonderful island I wish to express my first thanks. Then there are some local people who have assisted me in my work. My special thanks go to Mr. H.Yoshinaga who received me first time already in 1989. Next my gratitude goes to Mr. Tokikuni Tanegashima (the present, 29th generation of the Tanegashima family) who readily met me, escorted me around the island and informed me about his amazing family tradition. Then my gratitude goes to M.Inomoto, the author, who honoured me by sharing his rich knowledge about the island. Next I wish to thank Ms. N.Futami, who was my research assistant, helping me whenever I had problems or was in need of information. Thanks, too, to Director T.Hirayama who often accompanied me in my research work and generously made office facilities available.

On the Western side my special thanks go to Professor K.Kracht and Humboldt University in Berlin where I was allowed to use office facilities during repeated visits and where Ms. K.Adachi-Rabe assisted me through the mysteries of *kanbun* readings. My gratitude also goes to Gerald Jackson, Editor in Chief, and his staff who did great preparatory work and to the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS Press) that undertook the publication of the work.

Last but not least, my thanks to the Carlsberg Foundation whose financial support for this book assisted its publication.

Author's Note

My translations of the sources, the *Teppōki*, *Tanegashima kafu*, *Kunitomo teppōki* and *Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichiryū no keizu* have been made from originals in Chinese, each furnished with *kaeriten* ('return markers') for reading in Japanese. It was later that I found M.di Russo's translation of the *Teppōki*, which made me revise my translation and add some important footnotes. Later I also found a Japanese version of the *Tanegashima kafu* at the Kenritsu toshokan at Kagoshima with some valuable readings that are added. The *Teppōki* and *Kunitomo teppōki* are appendices to T.Hora, *Tanegashima jū* and they appear as printed in his work. The excerpt of *Tanegashima kafu* (Ch. 2, Shigetoki), about the arrival of the two Portuguese, originates from a copy held at the Kenritsu toshokan. The *Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichiryū no keizu* is also found in T.Hora's *Tanegashima-jū*, Ch. 1, as well as in other sources, as the footnotes indicate.



Map 1: The long route from Lisbon to Japan (based on the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1570 by Abraham Ortelius)

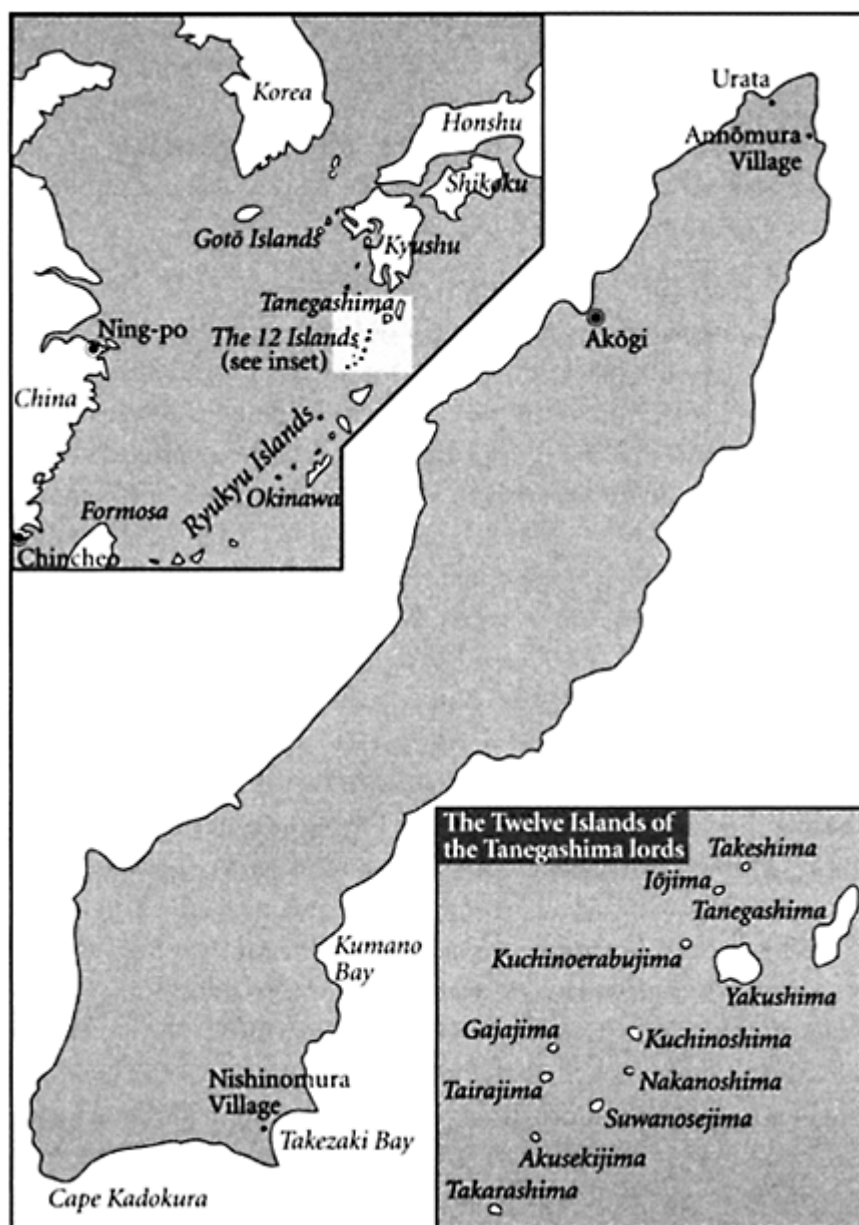
CHAPTER ONE

The Arrival of the Portuguese

THE GENERAL TRADITION¹

Tanegashima is an oblong island to the southeast of Kyushu, stretching 60 kilometers from north to south and 20 kilometers from west to east at its widest.² To this blessed island the first Europeans came. A Chinese junk with two Portuguese on board was driven by storms to Cape Kadokura, the southernmost tip of the island.³ It anchored in a cove, Maenohama, to the east of the cape, and there it was detected by surprised and excited local peasants on 23 September 1543 (the 25th day of the 8th month of Tenbun 12).⁴ The village chief, Nishimura Oribenōjō of the Nishi(no)mura Village, who happened to be a Chinese scholar,⁵ was called to the shore, and on the sandy beach he met a Chinese man, Gohō (Ch. Wu-feng),⁶ together with two strange-looking men. Strange they must have looked, these Portuguese in their European clothes, differing in facial complexion, and possibly displaying long noses and bushy beards. Nishimura knew no spoken Chinese and Gohō no spoken Japanese, but as in other encounters between the two nations they turned to written conversation in Chinese. Nishimura wrote in the sand with a stick and asked who those strange people were, and Gohō replied that they were Southern barbarians and merchants, and that, among other things, they ate with their hands and used no cups when they drank. One can imagine that the continued conversation in the sand explained how the junk had been damaged in a storm and had drifted to this cove on Tanegashima by chance.⁷

This was an event of such magnitude that it had to be reported to the lord of the island, Tanegashima Tokitaka (1528–79), the 14th Tanegashima lord of the island, and his father, the abdicated 13th lord, Tanegashima Shigetoki (1503–67).⁸ The same day Nishimura rode the fifty-two kilometres to Akōgi,⁹ where the lord had his residence, and submitted a full report of the sensational arrival of the junk and the strange foreigners. As the junk was damaged, it was decided that it should be brought for repair to Akōgi, which had a good harbour. With this message Nishimura returned to Nishinomura and the anchored junk.



Map 2: Tanegashima and the approaches to Japan

In its condition, the junk could not sail around the cape and up the western coast of the island on its own, and therefore some ten or twelve rowboats were ordered to haul it to its destination. This was a tough undertaking since it was the typhoon season with the ever-

present risk of stormy weather. They were lucky, however, and two days later the junk reached Akōgi harbour in the evening of 25 September (the 27th day of the 8th month).

The junk was the sensation of the day and the people of Akōgi flocked to the harbour. Among them was the young lord Tokitaka himself with his retinue. It must have been a large junk, since it is recorded that there were more than 100 people on board. The great attraction, however, were the Portuguese, and the junk came later to be referred to as the 'ship of the southern barbarians' (*nanbansen*).¹⁰ The junk was now to be overhauled and refitted; the rudder and the sails which had broken in the storms before reaching Tanegashima were to be mended or replaced. This was to take some time. Mean-while, a brisk trade took place when all the merchandise on board was sold at a great profit.

At the Jionji in Akōgi, a temple belonging to the Nichiren Sect,¹¹ there was a priest who knew Chinese and could act as an interpreter. Moreover, there was a Ryukyu woman, Tamagusuku or O-tama by name,¹² who acted as an interpreter for the Chinese captain, perhaps also for the Portuguese. Lord Tokitaka was in direct touch with both the Chinese and Portuguese through those interpreters. When it is said in the *Teppōki* that the conversation between Lord Tokitaka and the Portuguese was made with double interpretation, it must mean that someone was able to communicate with the Portuguese, either the Chinese captain or the Ryukyu woman.

The Portuguese were invited to Lord Tokitaka's house the next day where they were cordially received. The lord was soon aware that the Portuguese possessed and carried an oblong object, which aroused his curiosity. When he asked about it, one of the Portuguese tried to explain what it was, and when Tokitaka became more and more interested, the Portuguese arranged a demonstration. A target was set up, the object (that is, the musket) was loaded, and a shot was fired, a shot that made Japanese history. Tokitaka and all other spectators were stunned, not only by the thunderous noise and the smoke, but also by the fact that the target was hit some 100 steps away. The respect for the Portuguese must have risen at that moment. From being just southern barbarians, they were suddenly the carriers of a new magic. For the first time interest was shown in western science in Japan!

Tokitaka understood. Further explanations were superfluous. This was the weapon he needed to reconquer Yakushima Island,¹³ which forces from Nejime on southern Kyushu¹⁴ had taken not long before. The weapon was soon named *teppō* but first also *tanegashima teppō*, *tanegashima-jū* or just *tanegashima*. *Teppō* was a term that had existed from the time of the Mongol invasion in 1281, being found in the *Mōko-shūrai-ekotoba*, a picture scroll (*emakimono*) from 1293 referring to explosives used by the Mongols.¹⁵ In this picture scroll, the name is only given in *kana* (syllabary script). In the *Teppōki* and other early sources we find the word with Chinese characters in which the radical in the second character differs from the usual radical in modern usage. One also finds *teppō* written with other characters in literature.¹⁶ Also *tebiya* and other names are found.¹⁷ A loved child has many names, as the Scandinavian saying goes.

Lord Tokitaka had to have the new weapon, this musket—also called an arquebus or harquebus (as well as matchlock and firelock in English)¹⁸—and tradition has it that he gave the Portuguese a considerable sum of money (2,000 *ryō*)¹⁹ for one or two²⁰ of them. He was taught by the Portuguese to use the weapon, and it can be imagined that, being only fifteen years old, he was fascinated and enjoyed the shooting, the smoke and the

noise. If the tradition is correct, he was the first Japanese to shoot a musket.

It was also soon decided that the new weapon should be manufactured on the island. Luck had it that Tanegashima was an iron-producing island. The sand on its shores contained iron,²¹ and iron smelted in ovens on the island was of high quality and exported to Sakai,²² Negoro²³ and other sword-producing locations on the main island, Honshu.²⁴ Negotiations with merchants from those places had the result that Tanegashima could keep half of the iron to be exported, and a blacksmith on the island was set to work on and manufacture a copy of the received musket.

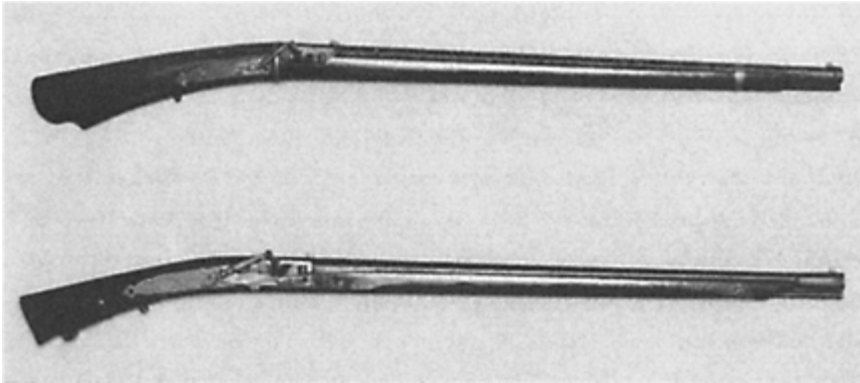


Figure 1: The original musket brought by the Portuguese (above) and the first musket produced by Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada (below), on display in the Tanegashima kaihatsu sōgō sentā (Common Centre for Tanegashima Development), popularly called the Teppō-kan (Teppō Museum).

The name of the blacksmith was Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada and the lot fell on him to forge the first Japanese musket.²⁵ It cannot have been easy to turn from making swords and knives to forging something entirely new. However, being ordered by his lord, he switched to the new project, assisted by Makise, Hirase, Ishihara and others. Producing the barrel must have been difficult but not impossible for a trained smith, but other parts were trickier, and fitting together the spring mechanism certainly presented difficulties. The first product was far from perfect, but within months the first musket was manufactured.²⁶ Little help could be offered by the Portuguese, who certainly knew how to shoot the musket, but knew nothing about the manufacturing process.

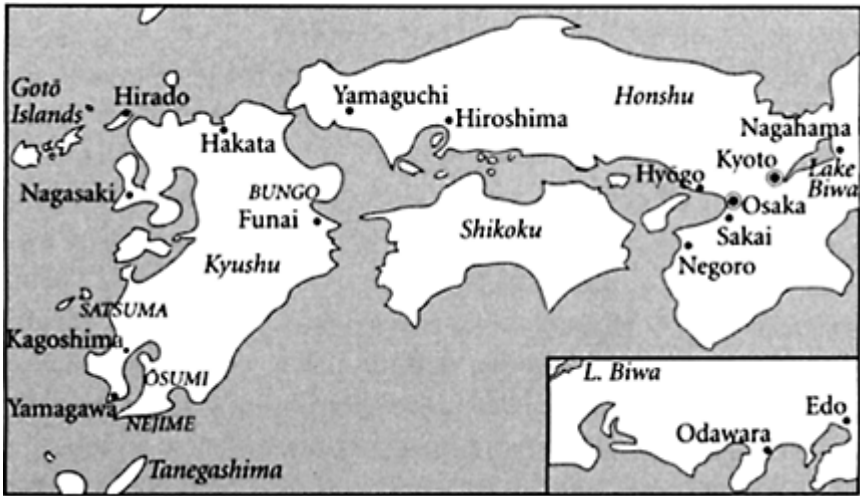
It is said that even though the weapon was not perfect, Tokitaka was immediately prepared to use it. On 27 January 1544 (the 4th day of the 1st month of Tenbun 13), he invaded Yakushima Island and, perhaps for the first time in Japanese history, a gun was used and decisive for the outcome of a battle. The island was retaken and became part of the Tanegashima domain once more. If this were true, it means that Yaita, the blacksmith, managed to make the first Japanese *teppō* in about four months, an amazing feat that is a reflection on the Japanese adaptability and readiness to accept innovations. The fact is, however, that Yaita had problems with the screw at the bottom end of the barrel,²⁷ and

since this important part of the mechanism was imperfect, it is not probable that it was used when Yakushima was reconquered. The account in the *Tanegashima kafu* does not mention the use of the new weapon. Tradition has it, however, that it was used and that it proved a success in spite of accidents.²⁸

The news about the Tanegashima musket spread fast to the rest of Japan. It is natural that the Satsuma lords learned about the musket sooner than others, since Tanegashima was Satsuma's tributary and in regular touch with Kagoshima. A merchant from Sakai, Tachibanaya Matasaburō, who, according to the *Teppōki*, happened to stay on the island, learned to use the musket and to mix gun-powder. He brought a copy of the weapon home with him, and the production began there already in 1544. Further, according to the *Teppōki*, Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō (Kazunaga) brought a copy as a present from Tanegashima to Negoro in Kii (today's Wakayama Prefecture), where the manufacture of the *teppō* also soon began. One Portuguese, who probably came with one of the ships that soon followed after the news had reached the Portuguese enclave at Ningpo²⁹ of the discovery of Japan and its promising commercial possibilities, was invited to demonstrate the musket for the lord of Bungo on Kyushu, Ōtomo Yoshiaki (1502–50), perhaps already in 1545. As a result, the musket soon became part of Ōtomo's military arsenal and Bungo³⁰ became for a time (1556–78) dominant on northern Kyushu. Before long, production also began at other places.

Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada who undertook the work of forging the first *tanegashima teppō* was lucky. On another ship from China, arriving in 1544, was a Portuguese blacksmith who taught Yaita how to apply a screw at the bottom end of the barrel. With this screw in place, the risk of explosion was eliminated. Yaita had finally managed the whole technique of the gun, and one can imagine his happiness. It is said that Yaita wished to keep the technique and the weapon a secret on Tanegashima. Lord Tokitaka was, however, ready to divulge it to others and earned recognition from, among others, the shogun in Kyoto. Rumours about the new weapon also spread quickly, and it would have been impossible for Tokitaka to keep it a secret for long even if he had wished to. It would, moreover, not have taken long for the musket to reach other places in Japan by other routes.

The possibility remains, however, that the musket was introduced independently in some provinces without Tanegashima being the intermediary, and that *wakō* pirates³¹ must have been acquainted with the musket before the Portuguese arrived in Tanegashima³² and were the first to bring it to a Japanese harbour. Future research might reveal that the musket came to Japan via several routes, Tanegashima being only one of them. It is also possible that Japanese at other locations learned the technique of the musket directly from Portuguese who came in following years. But the musket came, and however its technique was managed, it was the new weapon that quickened the pace of change in Japanese history. And as long as it is not proven otherwise, Tanegashima must be considered the place where the first Portuguese landed and where the musket was first introduced.³³



Map 3: Tanegashima and the spread of the *teppō*

Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada, however, is not mentioned in the sources until after the arrival of the Portuguese ship in 1544. The first maker of gunpowder, Sasakawa Koshirō, is mentioned soon after the acquisition of the *teppō* in 1543, but not Yaita. Could this mean that the work on the first *tanegashima teppō* did not begin until 1544? Or could it mean that gunpowder was considered of prime importance and came first? Certainly, gunpowder was as important as the musket itself; the latter could not do without the former. Without gunpowder, ‘the musket was just a useless scrap of metal’, as Tokitaka concludes in the *Peregrinaçam*. In any case, Sasakawa Koshirō (also known as Shinokawa Koshirō) and Yaita Kinbee stand side by side in Tanegashima folklore as the heroes at the time of the introduction of the *teppō*, one for his work on gunpowder and the other for his work on the first *tanegashima teppō*.³⁴

THE WAKASA LEGEND

If the tradition found in the *Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichiryū no keizu*, ‘Genealogy of the Yaita Kiyosada Family’ (in *kanbun*, Chinese script),³⁵ and a long oral tradition are correct, the technique of the gun cost Yaita his daughter. In order to obtain the secrets of the manufacture of the musket he offered one Portuguese his 16-year-old daughter Wakasa. The offer was accepted and Yaita received the instruction. Wakasa, who ‘lived the most miserable life that was ever lived’ according to the local tradition, was married to the Portuguese, the first ‘international marriage’ between a Westerner and a Japanese, and she left together with him. The story about Wakasa and her unhappy fate has been remembered to this day and a park, *Wakasa kōen* in Nishinoomote, bears her name.³⁶ Also a memorial stone was raised in 1909 at Kumonjō in the Nishinoomote area in commemoration of her filial deed, sacrificing herself for the sake of her father—and

Tanegashima and Japan.³⁷ It adds a romantic dimension to the introduction of the musket. One tradition has it that, 'homesick for her native land, she wrote a poem that so impressed her Portuguese husband that he returned with her to Tanegashima'.³⁸ The tradition is not clear about which Portuguese she is supposed to have married. The sources, to be quoted below, which are probably to be trusted, say that it was the 'captain' on the *nanbansen*, Murashukusha, one of the two Portuguese mentioned by name in the *Teppōki* (see below) who married her. It could not have been the captain on this ship, however, since he was not Portuguese but probably Chinese. The sources say further that the captain returned the following year together with his wife Wakasa, and that he brought along another Portuguese who taught her father the technique of closing the bottom end of the barrel of the musket. Whether the tradition is correct or not, the Wakasa romance has been part of Tanegashima folklore until this day.³⁹ She is the heroine and talisman of the island, honoured in names of boats, restaurants and candy, and her statue with a *teppō* in her arms welcomes people when they arrive at Nishinoomote.

The *Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichiryū no keizu* says in partial translation:

In the 8th month of the 12th year (the Mizumoto U 'hare' year, 1543) a *nanbansen* ship came adrift to the shore of Nishinomura. [Southern barbarians on this ship] carried muskets and they gave two as presents to the lords of the island [Lord Shigetoki⁴⁰ and Lord Tokitaka]. The lords were extremely happy about the wondrous thing they received from a foreign land and Kiyosada was ordered with his apprentices to learn the technique of its making. Kiyosada thought that the foreign barbarians might perhaps be honest but he dared not approach them. He considered it better to send over his daughter to the captain of the ship, Murashukusha, with the aim that they would marry after a day's friendship and so he would learn how to manufacture the *teppō*. This worked well and he learned the method of its manufacture. However, even though he racked his brain he could not manage the technique of closing the back end of the barrel. After some months, the barbarian ship set sail and left with his daughter on board. At the time of departure Kiyosada received a number of presents from the barbarian.



Figure 2: The beautiful Wakasa and the less beautiful Portuguese merchant (from the *Japanese* popular novel, *Nanban no uta*, by Fukushima Noriyo, illus. by Maeda Ken.



Figure 3: Wakasa, holding the *teppō*, welcomes today's visitors at the harbour in Nishinoomote. Photograph: O.G.Lidin

In the following 13th year (the Kinoe tatsu 'dragon' year, 1544) another *nanbansen* arrived and anchored outside Kumano by Sakaimura.⁴¹ On board was his daughter, and [father and daughter] met again. Luckily, a blacksmith came with the ship, and with him as his teacher Kiyosada could manage the technique of closing the bottom end of the barrel. At the time there was also Tachibanaya Matasaburō from Sakai in Izumi⁴² who considered the *teppō* a marvel, made Kiyosada his teacher and learned its technique. The lords considered the two *teppō* to be for the glory of Japan. They were family treasures for years but were lost in a fire. Kiyosada died on the 8th day of the 9th month of the first year of the era of Genki (1570) and was given the Buddhist name Shūyū. His daughter Wakasa was born on the 15th day of the 4th month of the 7th year (the Hinoto I 'pig' year) of the Taiei era (1527) and her mother

came from the Narahara family. In the 8th month of the 12th year of Tenbun (1543) she was married to Murashukusha and she went [with him] to a barbarian land. Being homesick and thinking of her home, she wrote a poem (in free translation): ‘I long for the moon and the sun of my Yamato homeland, thinking of my parents who dwell there’.⁴³ In the 13th year of Tenbun (1544) she returned home on a barbarian ship and father and daughter met again. Some days later Wakasa feigned that she fell gravely ill and died. A coffin (*kankaku*) was made and she was given a fine burial. The barbarian understood that he was deceived and shed no tears.⁴⁴

Murashukusha cursed the Yaita family and promised retribution over seven generations.

This *Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichiryū no keizu* was written some 150 years after the events during the reign of the 19th Tanegashima lord, Hisamoto (1664–1728), in Genroku times and it is therefore natural that much legend would be added to the events that had taken place long before and that things would differ from what we find in earlier sources.⁴⁵ In this genealogy, she is married to Murashukusha, one of the two Portuguese who came on the first junk, who is mentioned as the captain of the ship. As seen above, it was a Chinese, Gohō (Wu-feng), who was probably the captain and owner of the junk. The *Teppōki* and *Tanegashima kafu*, which mention Murashukusha as one of the two Portuguese on the first junk, do not mention Wakasa or any marriage.

Another version of the Yaita family genealogy adds:

At the time of the Chrysanthemum Festival (*Chōkyū no setsu*), on the 9th day of the 9th month Tokitaka learned to use the *teppō*. He trained day by day until he could hit the target a hundred times out of one hundred shots. About this time Suginobō at the Negoro Temple (in Kii) 1000 ri away sent a messenger and asked for a *teppō*. Tokitaka sent a *teppō* to him with Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō and had him learn to shoot and prepare gunpowder. Tokitaka ordered his swordsmith Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada to forge *teppō*. Only when Yaita gave the captain his daughter Wakasa, however, did the latter reveal the secrets of its production, and he left with Wakasa for his land. Yaita made efforts day and night to close the back end of the barrel, but could not manage it. The next year the captain came back with Wakasa and landed at Kumanoura. Now Yaita was taught how to close the back end of the barrel, and how to manage other technical problems. Within about a year he had manufactured some ten(s) of *teppō*.⁴⁶

That the Wakasa story is a later romanticization is proven by the fact that Pinto does not mention it. If he had heard about it, it would certainly have given him the opportunity to write a long passage, with many florid additions, about it. As it is, there is not a word. On the other hand, it should not be discounted that some romance took place between the Portuguese merchants and Japanese women on this first occasion or later. The initiative can as well have come from Murashukusha.⁴⁷ It is possible that for moral reasons both the Japanese chroniclers and Pinto did not mention a romance that, East or West, went against the conventions of the time. Pinto was a Christian and Nanpo a Confucian and both, probably, looked askance at ‘international marriages’ and considered them shameful.

It is of interest that Murashukusha in both versions is said to have been the captain of the ship and to have brought and presented the musket(s), and thereupon to have married Wakasa. In later Japanese writings he has been identified also with Pinto.⁴⁸ Since, however, it can be proven that Pinto was not on board this junk, he can be omitted. According to Pinto it was Zeimoto who carried a musket and demonstrated it for Tokitaka and afterwards gave it as a present to the lord. It should therefore have been Francisco Zeimoto, given as Diogo Zeimoto by Pinto, who possibly married Wakasa and brought her to a foreign land. However, since this romantic part of the first encounter between Japanese and Portuguese is not mentioned by Pinto, it should perhaps be considered a later oral tradition and a semi-fictive story.⁴⁹

If, with some imagination, one would try to describe what could have taken place, it would be like this. Yaita, at his wit's end, came on the idea of presenting his daughter to the Portuguese who had bestowed Tokitaka one (or two) muskets. He was under pressure and it was not easy for him to turn from swords to something so complicated as a musket. He needed help and he wanted to ingratiate himself with the Portuguese whom he thought knew about the manufacture of muskets. He had no money to pay for the help and therefore he offered his 16-year-old daughter to Murashukusha, that is, Francisco Zeimoto, who accepted her and married her. Another possibility is that Murashukusha became infatuated with Wakasa and proposed to her. Alas, it turned out that Murashukusha knew little or nothing about muskets, except being able to use it. It was in this situation agreed that Murashukusha was to leave together with his young wife on the junk that was soon repaired and go to Ning-po and find a Portuguese blacksmith. In this endeavour they succeeded and they were on the *nanbansen*, perhaps the first Portuguese ship to reach Japan (or was it again a Chinese junk?), in the following year. Wakasa's sacrifice paid off and her father received the assistance he needed to finish the first Japanese *teppō*. Her job was done and they could pretend that she fell ill and died. Murashukusha perhaps understood the deception, and of course shed no tears at the 'funeral'. It should again be noted that Yaita and his endeavours to create a *tanegashima teppō* are not mentioned in the sources until after the arrival of the *nanbansen* in 1544.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE JUNK FROM TANEGASHIMA

The junk was repaired and left the island (after five and a half months according to Pinto), and arrived at Ning-po.⁵⁰ Everyone was agitated by the news about a new land. Junks were readied and loaded (nine of them according to Pinto) to set sail for Japan. All of them foundered according to Pinto, but two of them were wrecked on the rocky shores of the Ryukyu Islands⁵¹ and 24 passengers or crew (also some women) were miraculously saved, one of whom was Pinto.

As always in his *Peregrinaçam*, Pinto's dates can be discussed. If the departure would have taken place 'five and a half months' after the arrival, it would have meant by March 1544. Unfortunately, there is no mention of the departure in Japanese sources, but it can be surmised that it took place much sooner, that is, as soon as the junk was repaired. This cannot have taken more than a month or two, and it is suggested here that they left by the latest in November 1544, when the northeast monsoon wind was favourable. Diogo do

Couto (ca. 1542–1616) comes close to the truth when he says that ‘they repaired and fitted the junk...and as it was the right season they returned (to Malacca)’. If they thereupon arrived at Ning-po, or some other place in China, in November, it would fit his story otherwise. Portuguese vessels were probably not around, and therefore junks were fitted out, loaded with merchandise, and sailed ‘against the wind, against the monsoon, against the tide, and against all reason’⁵² in the winter, and none of them reached Japan.

If they had been on Tanegashima for five and a half months and if Pinto had been among them, they would have been there when Yakushima was reconquered in January 1544. Pinto would certainly have noticed such a military event. He would have been in the middle of things as always, and he would have written bombastically about the battle and the slaughter. There is no mention of it in the *Peregrinação*, which is another indication that Pinto was not one among the first Portuguese who landed on Tanegashima.

The first accidental visitors were followed by others. Portuguese ships soon reached both Tanegashima and Kyushu. On one of them, reaching Tanegashima in 1544, was the gun expert, mentioned above, who taught Yaita the secrets of gun-making, and perhaps on others were the Portuguese who introduced the musket in Bungo and other provinces on Kyushu.

GUNPOWDER

A corollary problem was gunpowder. Without gunpowder the gun was worthless, and a considerable amount of gunpowder was necessary for the usage of a number of guns in warfare. It was again the Portuguese who became the teachers and Sasakawa Koshirō⁵³ was ordered to learn the art of compounding gunpowder, using sulphur, charcoal and saltpetre. Sulphur was a product of Tanegashima (Kuchinoerabujima) and Japan otherwise, and together with swords a major export article to China. Charcoal from the forests on Tanegashima and Yakushima had been used for the making of iron. It was only saltpetre that was a rarer article and had to be imported. Saltpetre immediately became an important new piece of merchandise, imported from China and Siam. It is said that Gohō, the probable Chinese captain of the first *nanbansen* junk, knew the secret of gunpowder and became one of Sasakawa Koshirō’s teachers.

Tanegashima was for some time an important place not only for the production of muskets and gunpowder, but also as a relay point for the import of saltpetre, gunpowder and lead coming from China and the Ryukyu Islands on their way to Bungo, Sakai, Negoro and other places in Japan. As it is proudly written about Akōgi in the *Teppōki*: ‘Merchants from the south and traders from the north go back and forth there as continuously as the shuttle on a loom’. As will be discussed below, Tanegashima was one of the gateways leading to Japan from the South. A thriving new industry was the result of the introduction of the musket, and Sakai more than other places would soon flourish with its manufacture of the musket and the commerce of saltpetre, lead⁵⁴ and other articles in connection with *teppō* warfare. The Sakai merchants were trained in *sengoku*⁵⁵ commercial freedom and lost no time in profiting from a new product. Soon the *teppō* found its way into the arsenals of the daimyo across the land, and it became even an

export commodity according to Pinto.

WHO WERE THE FIRST PORTUGUESE?

Who were the first Portuguese who came to Tanegashima on the Chinese junk? And how many were they? Two as stated in Japanese sources—the *Teppōki*, *Tanegashima kafu* and other Japanese works—or three as recorded by Galvano and Pinto? The answer will never be totally certain on any of the two questions.

The *Teppōki* gives their names as

1. Murashukusha and
2. Kirishita da Mōta,

both with Chinese characters. Antonio Galvano (1503–1557)⁵⁶ presents three men with the names:

1. Antonio da Mota
2. Francisco Zeimoto
3. Antonio Pexoto

Pinto, on the other hand, includes himself among the three Portuguese in his *Peregrinação*:

1. Diogo Zeimoto
2. Fernão Mendes Pinto
3. Cristóvão Borralho.

From such disparate lists of names it is impossible to decide exactly who were the first Portuguese to reach Tanegashima. A reduction can, however, be made: Pinto was not among them. As will be shown in Chapter 6 below, he could not possibly have been visiting Tanegashima in 1543. In his fantastic *Peregrinação*, which contains as much fiction as true fact, he must have added his name to enhance his fame. If he had been one of the Portuguese, the *Teppōki* would certainly have recorded him for the simple reason that the name Pinto is easily heard and written in Japanese. What about the other two? In the *Teppōki* a Kirishita da Mōta is mentioned and Galvano mentions an Antonio da Mota. Is it not plausible that this is one and the same da Mo(o)ta? Further, Galvano lists a Francisco Zeimoto and Pinto a Diogo Zeimoto. Is it too far-fetched to presume that these represent the same Zeimoto, who is presented as Murashukusha in the *Teppōki*? Is it not possible that Pinto met one or both of these compatriots and was acquainted with the circumstances? Or that he arrived at a later date to Tanegashima and heard the story about the first Portuguese from Tanegashima people? Either occurrence is plausible. That Zeimoto's first name differs in Galvano's and Pinto's works should not be taken seriously. Pinto's memory was astounding but he could not have remembered all names correctly some 20 or 30 years after the events. Galvano is probably correct. Pinto, on the other hand, probably just picked a name, the first he could think of. The general purport of Pinto's story is however in so many respects close to the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* that it gives the impression of being an enlarged but not a bad narration of the story

of the arrival of the first Portuguese and the first musket in Japan. A summary of Pinto's alleged visits to Japan is in Chapter 6 below.

As Galvano's⁵⁷ account from 1557 about the discovery of Japan in the *Tratado dos descobrimentos antigos e modernos*, 'The Discoveries of the World from Their First Original Unto the Year of Our Lord 1557',⁵⁸ has been of such importance for later writings, it is here given in a full English translation:

In the year of our Lord 1542 one Diogo de Freitas was in the realm of Siam, and in the city of Dodra as captain of a ship, there fled from him three Portuguese in a junk that went to China. Their names were Antonio da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Pexoto. They made sail in the direction of Liampo (Ningpo), which is located at about 30 degrees of latitude. There fell upon their stern such a storm, that it set them off the land, and in a few days they saw an island towards the east at 32 degrees of latitude, which people call Japõens (Japan), which seems to be the Isle of Sipangas,⁵⁹ about which writers say so much about its riches. And this island of Japan has gold, much silver and other riches.⁶⁰

It should be noticed that Tanegashima is not mentioned, but we may assume that they arrived at this island.

What about Antonio Pexoto (given in Galvano's list) and Cristóvão Borralho (given in Pinto's)? As Pinto is untrustworthy generally, Borralho must probably be counted out. Borralho is mentioned earlier in the *Peregrinação*, and seems to have been a close companion of Pinto's in other adventures. It was therefore perhaps only natural that he made him the third man of the group. What about Pexoto? The question is left open. There is always the possibility that he was washed over board and lost at sea and never reached Japan (a student's bright idea!), or that he came to Japan on a later Portuguese ship.⁶¹ In a picture album of noted places (*meisho-zue*), which deals with how the musket reached the Negoro Temple in Kii, a Portuguese merchant with the name of Peitaro is mentioned as the person who taught a person from Kii the mysteries of the *teppō*. Peitaro is close enough to Pexoto to make one suspect that somebody with the name of Peitaro or Pexoto came to Japan on another Portuguese ship.⁶²

HOW MANY PORTUGUESE WERE THERE?

What about their number? Were they two or three? It is posited here that the Japanese sources, the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*, are correct for the reason that Japanese historiography is generally correct. There was no reason for the Japanese chroniclers to report that the strangers were only two if they were actually three. They were also *in situ* and kept these strangers under curious surveillance; the chroniclers would not have missed out one of them. It can therefore be stated with some certainty that there were just two Portuguese, and not three as in European sources, which have been influenced by Galvano and Pinto.

João Rodrigues (Tçuzzu, the Interpreter), for example, in *História da Igreja do Japão*, 'The History of the Church of Japan' (written 1614–34) gives the same three names as

Galvano.⁶³ Then he continues:

This happened on Tanegashima, where the Portuguese taught the inhabitants the use of guns and from there the gun spread all over Japan. On this island the name of the Portuguese who taught them how to manufacture muskets is still remembered.

Rodrigues is of interest for several reasons. He shows that Galvano was known in the East, and his account indicates that it was generally accepted that the musket had first been introduced on Tanegashima and via Tanegashima to the rest of Japan. If he had added the names of the Portuguese who were remembered on Tanegashima, we can assume that it would have been the names found in the *Teppōki* and in the *Tanegashima kafu*, two rather than three. However, while he had read Galvano but had probably never visited Tanegashima, he accepted Galvano's three names.

The two Portuguese visitors could, as a result, have been either of two pairs: (1) Zeimoto and da Mota or (2) Zeimoto and Pexoto. It is not possible to come to an absolute conclusion about which pair it was (or whether it was another group of two). It is here cautiously concluded that the two were Francisco Zeimoto and Antonio da Mota. It is further cautiously concluded that it was Francisco Zeimoto who gave or sold the musket (s) to Lord Tokitaka and thereby introduced the mysterious new weapon to Japan, as also Pinto reports. Pinto had heard this part of the story correctly.

Until Meiji times it seems also to have been the tradition from the *Teppōki* that was prevalent with reference to the arrival of the first Portuguese. In 1841 F.P.von Siebold gives an extract from one of the national annalists:

Under the *Mikado* Konaru and the *Ziagoon* Yosi-hao, in the twelfth year of the *Nengo Tenbun*, on the twenty-second day of the eighth month (October, 1543) a strange ship made the island Tanega-zima, near Koura, in the remote province Nisimura. The crew, about two hundred in number, had a singular appearance; their language was unintelligible, their native land unknown. On board was a Chinese named Go-hou, who understood writing: from him it was gathered that that this was a *nan-ban* ship ('southern barbarian' in the Japanese form of the Chinese words *nan-man*). On the 26th this vessel was taken to Aku-oki harbour, on the northwest of the island, and Tokitaka, governor of Tanega-zima, instituted a strict investigation concerning her, the Japanese bonze Tsyu-syu-zu acting as interpreter, by means of Chinese characters. On board the *nan-ban* ship were two commanders, Mura-syukya and Krista-moota; they had firearms, and first made the Japanese acquainted with shooting-arms and the preparation of shooting-powder.⁶⁴

When Japanese historians—for example, T.Nishimura (Nishimura Tokihiko [Tenshū], 1865–1924) in *Nantō ikō-den*, 'The Record of the Great Achievements on the Southern Islands' (1899)—assert that the *Teppōki* mentions three Portuguese, they are probably influenced by Galvano and Pinto in an attempt to harmonize European and Japanese sources. Nishimura suggests that Kirishita da Mōta represents two people, one Kirishita with reference to Pinto's Christóvão Borralho and one da Mōta with reference to

Galvano's Antonio da Mota.⁶⁵ Old people had mistakenly combined the names of two Portuguese and three people had become two in the tradition that Nanpo recorded in 1606. Nishimura thereupon links this theory to a revised version of the *Teppōki* which asserts that there were three on board the junk and even presents them with the rather fanciful names in *katakana* (syllabary script): Furanchisuku Chimoro, Antonio Demoto and Antonio Berota.⁶⁶

K.Tsuboi (Tsuboi Kumazō, 1858–1936) in *Teppō denraikō*, 'Thoughts about the arrival of the *Teppō*' (1892),⁶⁷ seems more cautious. He accepts the *Teppōki* version and does not immediately reinterpret the names and make three Portuguese out of the two mentioned in the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*.⁶⁸ T.Hora finds, however, that Tsuboi (like Nishimura) ends up dividing Kirishita da Mōta into two people, one Kirishitan and one da Mōta.⁶⁹

Another attempt at harmonizing the *Teppōki* with Galvano is found in *Nichiō tsūkōshi*, 'The History of Commerce between Japan and Europe', by S.Kōda (Kōda Shigetomo, 1873–1954).⁷⁰ Murashukusha in the *Teppōki* is only a first name and also for him Kirishita da Mōta represents two people, the first Kirishitan and the second Antonio da Mōta. Kōda bases himself on a work, *Bubishi*, in which Murashukusha is given as Furashakosha. This he considers to be a corruption for Francisco, Zeimoto's first name. The name was then shortened to only the first name in the *Teppōki*. In the same manner da Mōta is short for Antonio da Mota, with only the last name given. Kirishita represents a problem but Kōda thinks that it represents the appellation for a Christian. In this manner Kōda ends up agreeing with Galvano. Kōda is close to Nishimura and Tsuboi, but for all three of them it can be said that their interpretations are strained and difficult to accept.

Later similar attempts to explain the names are presented by S. Tokoro (Tokoro Sōkichi) and H.Motojima (Motojima Hiroshi).⁷¹ Tokoro admits that confusion has arisen as regards the first Portuguese who arrived in Japan—and does not hesitate to add to the confusion himself. He imagines that the three Portuguese, Antonio da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto and Antonio Pexoto came in 1542, as stated by Galvano, and discovered Japan, without being recognized. Then the same Portuguese came again in the following year and were recognized because they brought the musket. They were given the written names Murashukusha and Kirishita da Mōta. Murashukusha was Francisco in Sino-Japanese phonetic presentation and short for Francisco Zeimoto. Professor Tokoro finds this plausible and as close as one can come to the truth. Whether or not Kirishita da Mōta then represents one person, as in the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*, or two persons, as in the interpretations of Nishimura, Kōda and perhaps also Tsuboi, he does not discuss. He leaves the question open.⁷² Motojima probably just quotes his predecessors when he divides Kirishita da Mōta into one Kirishita and one da Mōta⁷³ and gives the three first Portuguese in Japan as Francisco, Kirishita and da Mōta.⁷⁴

All available versions of the *Teppōki* say that two Portuguese came, and so do available versions of the *Tanegashima kafu*. Perhaps there was another version of the *Teppōki* available to scholars in Meiji times that said there were three and not two Portuguese on board the junk. The tradition until then, however, only mentions two, (da) Mota (with various first names) and Francisco Zeimoto. On Hokusai's picture from 1817 (see Figure 4) there are two, Murashukusha and Kirishitamōta and in P.F.von Siebold, *Manners and Customs of the Japanese* (1841) it says: 'The Japanese have preserved

portraits (and curious specimens of the graphic art they are) of Murasyuku and Krista-moota, who are supposed to have been Antonio Mota and Francesco Zeimoto, the first Portuguese known to have landed in Japan'.⁷⁵

The thesis presented here is that the *Teppōki* and *Tanegashima kafu* are the reliable sources and that only two Portuguese arrived on this first *nanbansen*. One was Murashukusha who possibly corresponded to Francisco Zeimoto and the other was Kirishita da Mōta, the 'Christian' da Mōta, who would correspond to Antonio da Mōta. The third Portuguese, Antonio Pexoto, might have drowned or disappeared in some other way on the long way from Siam. There were many ways for a sailor to die on the high seas in those times.

The ultimate conclusion is that matching the Portuguese and Japanese names will never be fully accomplished and that the attempts described above to make the Portuguese and Japanese names correspond will never be more than *guesswork*. When Nanpo wrote his *Teppōki* some sixty years after the event, he listened to the names given by elders whose memories might have blurred over the years, wrote them down as he heard them, and in Chinese characters to boot. It is not amazing that the names are simplified and difficult to correlate. What is amazing is that one of the names, Kirishita da Mōta, can immediately be understood as a Portuguese name.⁷⁶ Generally, due to the fact that sources are limited and few, scholars succumb to the temptation of arbitrary interpretations.



Figure 4: Picture by Hokusai of the first two Portuguese on Tanegashima. This bears the inscription: The castaways Murashukusha and Kirishita Mōta on Tanegashima, Osumi Province, the 25th day of the 8th month of the 12th year of the Tenbun era (23 September 1543). The picture is from the *Hokusai manga dairokuhen* (sixth volume of the Hokusai manga pictures), 1817.

WHAT YEAR DID THE PORTUGUESE ARRIVE?

There has been much confusion in literature about the year when the first Portuguese arrived at Tanegashima, as both 1542 and 1543⁷⁷ are mentioned. To ascertain the date, we have both Japanese and European sources, and the question is which sources can be relied upon. It is posited that the Japanese versions, as found in the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*, are trustworthy. The *Teppōki* was written 63 years after the event—that is, in 1606—by Nanpo Bunshi (1555–1620), a Satsuma monk and scholar. But Nanpo must have had the Tanegashima family chronicle in one form or another at his disposal in addition to other local sources, and he was certainly personally acquainted with the whole tradition including the legends about this historical event. Further, Nanpo was a true Confucian scholar who would not have deviated from the facts as found in the sources. He could elaborate on them and add rhetorical flourishes, but he would not have changed the facts. It should also be remembered that exact dating was an absolute demand in Chinese historiography, a tradition inherited by the Japanese.

Therefore, when both the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* give the exact date for the arrival as the 25th day of the 8th month of the 12th year of the Tenbun era, that is, the 23 September 1543 according to the Western calendar, this date must be trusted. The *Teppōki* has its moot points, and there might have been distortions from being written many years after the event, but the date of the arrival of the junk should not be among them. It ought to be noted that the *Tanegashima kafu*, which is short and factual, is identical with the *Teppōki*—practically word for word—when it relates the arrival of the Portuguese. The one work has obviously copied the other and, since the *Tanegashima kafu* was written later, it perhaps copied relevant parts of the *Teppōki*. Both works must, however, have had a Tanegashima house chronicle as the basic source.

S.Tokoro (Tokoro Sōkichi) believes, as noted, that there could have been one junk visiting Tanegashima in 1542 just for commerce, a junk that was not recorded even though there could have been (three) Portuguese on board.⁷⁸ The junk that came in 1543, on the other hand, was of special interest because the Portuguese on board carried the musket and because the young lord took an immediate interest in the new weapon. In other words, this junk would hardly have been recorded in the house chronicle had it not been for the musket; nor would the Portuguese have been noticed. S.Tokoro points out that the *Teppōki* was written to honour Lord Tokitaka and Tanegashima because they were the first to have the musket, to reproduce it, and afterwards to introduce it to the rest of Japan. The theory contains a grain of credibility since the Shigetoki and Tokitaka chapters in the *Tanegashima kafu* might not be complete as regards ships and commerce that reached the island from China and do not touch the commerce with the rest of Japan. The question is, however, if any Portuguese could have gone unnoticed and if a Portuguese, whether merchant or adventurer, would have travelled about East Asia without carrying a firearm. It is also apparent, both in the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*, that it was not the weapon they carried but the Portuguese themselves who aroused initial curiosity. The decision to bring the junk to Akōgi was not due to the musket but probably due to the general curiosity that both Shigetoki and Tokitaka evinced when they heard of the barbarians on board the junk. It was only after they arrived in the harbour of

Akōgi that it was noticed that they carried a mysterious new weapon. The Portuguese were a sensation in 1543, but they should have caused excitement also in 1542. It is therefore concluded that, even though the theory bears some plausibility, it should yet be taken with a grain of salt, and as a theory that cannot be proven. The first visits to Tanegashima ought accordingly to have taken place in 1543 and 1544, which fits with both the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*. On the other hand, it is possible that some Portuguese ship reached the Ryukyu Islands in 1542.

K.Matsuda (Matsuda Kiichi) suggests that the year given in the *Teppōki* should perhaps be taken as a general date referring to several Portuguese visits, two or three of them. This is an interesting suggestion because the *Teppōki* is not always reliable. The *Tanegashima kafu*, on the other hand, seems to be generally trustworthy and reflecting the precise historiography demanded in the Confucian tradition. With all due respect, Professor Matsuda's suggestion should not be taken as more than another interesting proposition. It is recommended again that we keep the year of the first arrival of the Portuguese to 1543.⁷⁹

Even 1541 has been mentioned as the year of the arrival of the first Portuguese. Edwin O.Reischauer writes in *The United States and Japan*: 'In 1541 some Portuguese drifted ashore in Kyushu, the southernmost of the main islands of Japan, and two years later other Portuguese came, largely by accident, to Tanegashima, a small island lying off the southern tip of Kyushu.' He is certainly correct in the second part of the statement, but one wonders which sources he bases himself on in the first part. It might be an error.⁸⁰

It should be noticed, however, that M.C.Haguenauer says in his *Tables Chronologiques* that 'Les daimyō Shimazu et Ōtomo seraient entrés en relations avec les Portugais' under 1541.⁸¹ No source is mentioned. There is also mention of a *nanbansen* arriving at Bungo in 1541 which will be discussed below (see page 33). These repeated references to 1541 might mean something, but since they cannot be corroborated, they are only noted but not taken seriously.

In parenthesis it should in this context be noticed that the two terms, *nanban*, 'Southern Barbarian', and *nanbansen*, 'Southern Barbarian ship', were used in Chinese parlance before the Europeans arrived. They referred to ships and people arriving from the South generally. *Nanbansen* coming from Southeast Asia are mentioned from early times with reference to lands south of Kyushu. The arrivals of a *nanbansen* from Sumatra as early as 1408 and of a *nanbansen* from Java a year later are recorded in the annals. Other *nanbansen* visits from the 'lands in the South' are recorded during the first half of the fifteenth century.⁸² They came to an end by the middle of the century and it was now the Ryukyans who for almost a century became the *nanban* traders. Perhaps even ships from the Ryukyu Islands were once regarded as *nanbansen*. Semantic change took place with widened geographical awareness but when we discuss *nanban* and *nanbansen* here the term refers narrowly to the Portuguese (European) ships, and often to Chinese junks with Portuguese on board.

The amazing fact is that Japan was not discovered by the Portuguese earlier. It took them only two years after conquering Malacca to reach China. They sailed up and down the Chinese coast for 30 years without making this great discovery, and when it finally happened, it was coincidental due to stormy weather. In the typhoon-ridden waters of the East China Sea one would have expected this to have occurred earlier and that the

Ryukyu Islands, the Kyushu (including Tanegashima), and even Korea would have been detected at an early date. As it stands, however, it was not until this September day in 1543 that we can safely say that Japan became known to the Portuguese and the legendary Jipangu became part of the European map.⁸³

REPORTS ABOUT THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE IN JAPAN

In Europe the arrival of Portuguese in Japan was first made known by the Spanish officer, Garcia de Escalante [Alvarado], and the Portuguese captain, Jorge Alvares. Garcia de Escalante was an officer on Ruy Lopez Villalobos' Spanish expedition from New Spain to the Philippines 1542–44. Stranded and in Portuguese captivity in the Moluccas he wrote an account in which he reports on the first visits to the Ryukyu Islands and Japan. From Diogo de Freitas he heard about a visit to the Ryukyu Islands in perhaps 1542 and from Pero Diez about a journey to Japan in probably 1544.⁸⁴ The account was written in 1545 and was sent from Lisbon to the viceroy of Mexico in 1548. In the account it is said in part: 'In Ternate we discovered a Galician from Monterrey, by name Pero Diez, who had arrived in a junk from Japan (*las islas de Japan*)'. He was called to Tidore in the Moluccas and he related that he had left Patani in 1544 in a Chinese junk, which had made its way via Chincheo to Ning-po, from where 'they crossed over to the Island of Japan, which is situated at about 32 degrees'. Tanegashima is not mentioned. Thereupon follows the description of Japan which shows the weakness of hearsay. There are obvious errors: for example, it is reported that Japanese possess neither swords nor lances and that their language is similar to German! It is, however, correct when it reports on their ceremonious courtesy and their keeping hawks and falcons for hunting purposes. And it is certainly correct when it states that they read and write like the Chinese! This oldest known report on Japan is of significance as it shows directly and indirectly that China, the Ryukyu Islands and Japan were intertwined in trade relations. One must treat this report with the same care as Pinto's *Peregrinaçam*: much of what is said is not convincing. It was, in the end, based on hearsay.⁸⁵ Though second-hand, however, the account is the oldest report about Japan coming from a European who had been ashore in Japan. The visit must have taken place in 1544, since de Escalante wrote in the account in 1545 that Pero Diez had left Patani and China in the 'preceding year'. Further, it must have taken place in late summer and early winter (or possibly in early 1545), since it is said that 'it is a very cold country'.⁸⁶

The report written by Jorge Alvares, on the other hand, has the advantage of being written by someone who had visited Japan in person and was an excellent observer.⁸⁷ His account, written in 1547, is therefore both trustworthy and valuable. He admits that he had only visited Yamagawa at the southern tip of Satsuma and had never been far inland but his observations of land and people could hold good for all Japan. His detailed descriptions are convincing. For example, he was the first to register the innate curiosity of the Japanese people, their inveterate observance of propriety and their reading and writing Chinese—but not speaking it. And he observed correctly that the islands suffer from earthquakes, hurricanes and typhoons. He describes a typhoon in which 72 Chinese junks and a Portuguese ship had foundered.⁸⁸ He presents lists of trees and fruits, and

states that people harvest the fields three times a year and delight in flowers such as roses and carnations. It must have made an impression on Xavier and Portuguese *hidalgos* to hear about the honesty of the Japanese people, their proud and martial behaviour and their habit of carrying swords from the tender age of eight years—and using them when offended. They were not less impressed by hearing—and perhaps abhorred—that both sexes bathed and washed in the hot springs and rivers in the sight of passers-by.⁸⁹

Alvares wrote the report at the request of Xavier, who planned missionary work in Japan, at the time that he also introduced the Japanese, Anjiro, whom he had given refuge on his ship and brought with him from Japan.⁹⁰ Xavier was excited by the report. He forwarded it to Ignatius Loyola in 1548 and it was then circulated in Europe.⁹¹ Jorge Alvares had recently returned from Kyushu and he could therefore give Xavier an up-to-date and true report about Japan.⁹² Pinto's alleged second journey to Japan took place on Jorge Alvares' ship and his account of this journey is found in the *Peregrinaçam*, chapters 200–203. As will be described in Chapter 6 below, the account can be questioned throughout, but the date for the departure from Japan to Malacca, 16 January 1547, seems believable.⁹³

Before both Garcia de Escalante and Jorge Alvares, however, comes Tomé Pires.⁹⁴ To him goes the honour of being the first to have mentioned Japan in the West—that is, after Marco Polo.⁹⁵ He served in Malacca between 1512 and 1515 and in his account, the *Suma Oriental*, written about 1514, the name Japan (Jampon) appears for the first time in European script. Tomé Pires' report is here given in full:⁹⁶

The island of Japan (*Ilha de Jampon*), according to what all the Chinese say, is larger than that of the *Lequjos* (the Ryukyus), and the king is more powerful and greater, and is not given to trading, nor [are] his subjects. He is a heathen king, a vassal of the king of China. They do not often trade in China because it is far off and they have no junks, nor are they seafaring men. The *Lequjos* go to Japan in seven or eight days and take [their] merchandise, and trade it for gold and copper. All that comes from the *Lequjos* is brought by them from Japan. And the *Lequjos* trade with the people of Japan in cloths, fishing nets, and other merchandise.⁹⁷

This report is, although short, unmistakably showing the geographical centrality of the Ryukyu Islands between Japan, Korea, China and Southeast Asia. The Ryukyus were the axis around which the trade moved north, west and south. It shows further that the Portuguese were in touch with the Ryukyuan and knew about the Ryukyu Islands soon after they established themselves at Malacca in 1511. Through the Ryukyuan they were in one way or another informed of the islands further north, that is, Japan. The report shows the weakness of being based on hearsay: the Ryukyuan were a seafaring people and traded not least with China.

All three reports preceded Pinto and also the letters and reports by Xavier, written from 1549 to 1552. Together they represent the earliest European accounts of Japan from merchants who had visited the country and of what they had experienced there. To Pero Diez must be given the honour of making the first account about Japan, although written down by someone else. Tomé Pires was in Portuguese official service and his short report

was based on hearsay. It is significant that the missionaries only followed in the wake of merchants and officials.⁹⁸

The visits of Portuguese to Japan seem to have been rare between 1543 and 1549. We know that they did come but reports about the early visits are few and partly unreliable. Probably there were more Portuguese reaching Japan than we know of. Pero Diez is the first who we can safely say visited Japan and furthermore delivered a report on his visit. It is only with the arrival of the Jesuit priests, first among them Francis Xavier, that the reports become extensive and it is from about the same time that Portuguese ships began to arrive regularly.

The first letter by Francis Xavier, dated 5 November 1549 and sent from Kagoshima to Goa, was the first exhaustive report written by a Westerner in Japan, and transmitted to Europe. It was quickly copied and circulated as early as 1551–52. This was his longest letter and his principal communication from Japan. ‘It is full of the generalizations that a tourist of six weeks is liable to make about any country ...but it is also the work of a thoughtful, cultivated and pious observer widely experienced in the East’.⁹⁹ He was full of enthusiasm after ten weeks in Satsuma, and this enthusiasm was only slightly tempered as he stayed over a two-year period. His letter was the superb beginning of a rich literature about Japan seen through Jesuit glasses.

In official reports, the advent of the Portuguese was first mentioned in Antonio Galvano’s *Tratados descobrimentos antigos e modernos* (1557), ‘The Discoveries of the World, from Their First Original Unto the Year of Our Lord 1555’, which has already been quoted above.

In a larger historical context the arrival of the Portuguese was first related by the official historiographer of Portuguese India, Diogo do Couto (c. 1542–1616), who lived for about fifty years in the East and died at Goa. In his report, *Década Quinto da ‘Ásia’*, published in 1612 in Lisbon, the arrival in Japan is recounted and the Japanese are described as being proud and valiant. What he writes about Japan is based on what he has heard from others but, being a reliable historian, he did not fabricate stories or add to what he heard. His narrative was not written until 1611 but together with Galvano’s *Descobrimentos antigos e modernos* it can be counted as an early and longer version of the arrival of the first Portuguese in Japan.¹⁰⁰ He cannot have been influenced by Pinto whose *Peregrinação* was published two years after the *Década Quinto da ‘Ásia’*.

Diogo do Couto’s narrative runs like a paraphrase of Galvano but is longer and adds notable details. In this version—*estando este anno de 1542*—the same three Portuguese as in Galvano (Antonio da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto and Antonio Pexoto) are on a trade journey from Siam to China on a junk, loaded with commodities, which seems to be their own. They aim at the port of Chincheo (Ch’uan-chow)¹⁰¹ since they cannot enter the city of Canton where Portuguese are forbidden. On their way they run into foul weather and do Couto writes:

This tempest lasted these men four and twenty hours, and at the end thereof the junk stopped pitching and tossing; but it was left in such a state and so unmanageable, that there was nothing for it but to let the wind blow it where it listed, which at the end of fifteen days drove it between some islands where they anchored, without knowing where they were. From the land, small boats at once

put out to meet them, in which came men whiter than the Chinese, but with small eyes and short beards. From them, they learned that these islands were called *Nipongi* [or Nipponjin, i.e., Japanese people], the one which we commonly term Japan (Japão). And finding that these people were kind, they mingled with them, by whom they were very hospitably received. Here they repaired and fitted the junk, and exchanged their merchandise for silver, since there is none other; and as it was the right season they returned to Malacca.¹⁰²

It is Japan that is mentioned, but again we may assume that it was Tanegashima that is referred to.

Diogo do Couto wrote *Década Quinto da 'Ásia'* late in life and it was written in the light of secondhand information from various sources. This comes clear when he describes the political situation at the beginning of the Tokugawa era after 1600. The pride of the Japanese is noted—and the equal pride of the Chinese—and a like-wise accurate observation is that the shogun has placed the emperor in seclusion in his palace in Meacó (Miyako: Kyoto) without any power of exercising his authority. After further discussing Buddhism and Shinto and vices and sins among which treason and parricide are the worst, do Couto ends the description of Japan with the laconic words: *E isto baste dos Japões* ('And with this, enough of the Japanese'), and turns to other subjects.

In the following rich literature on the early Europeans in Japan it suffices to mention the *História de Japam* by Luís Frois (1532–97) and *História da Igreja do Japão* by João Rodrigues (Tçuzzu, the Interpreter). Both accounts have the Christian mission at the centre, but while Frois is strong on the history in this turbulent era, Rodrigues has the stress on culture, 'Customs, Government, Nobility and Wealth'.¹⁰³ Frois' work was written in Japan, while Rodrigues' work was written after he was banished from Japan in 1612 and lived in Macao. Both of them follow Galvano as regards the arrival of the first Europeans (that is, Portuguese) in Japan and both deprecate Pinto. The reader is recommended to turn to the originals in Portuguese or to G.Schurhammer's translation of Luís Frois' *Historia de Japam*, the first part (1549–1578) *Geschichte Japans (1549–1578)*, (Leipzig, 1926), the second and third parts (1578–1592) in Spanish translation (Tokyo, 1938), and to M.Cooper's partial translation of *História da Igreja do Japão* in *Rodrigues the Interpreter, An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York and Tokyo, 1974) or to the Japanese translation of Rodrigues' work, *Nihon kyōkai-shi* (Tokyo 1967–70).¹⁰⁴

When the year 1542 is mentioned in many later Western (and Japanese) works, it must also have been under the influence of Galvano (and do Couto). Pinto's *Peregrinação* is of less interest in this respect. There is no date, neither of arrival in nor of departure from Tanegashima. He only mentions that they stayed in Japan for five and a half months. His presentation of the first visit by Portuguese to Tanegashima and Japan is an interesting but mostly fictitious narrative, as he had heard it, adding himself to the story. Pinto is accordingly of no help when it comes to dating the arrival of the first Portuguese in Tanegashima.¹⁰⁵

But were the Portuguese on Tanegashima the first Portuguese in Japan? The question is raised because one tradition referring to Bungo mentions that a Portuguese ship arrived in this province as early as 1541, even giving the exact month and day: the 27th day of the

7th month. This mention is found in the *Ōtomo kōhai-ki*, 'The Record of the Rise and Fall of the Ōtomo'.¹⁰⁶ There is, however, no corroboration in other sources, and it is therefore doubtful whether such a visit took place. It could be a later interpolation in the Bungo chronicle in order to outdo Tanegashima and Satsuma. On the other hand, when at the time he was baptized a Christian (in 1578), Ōtomo Yoshishige (Sōrin, 1530–87),¹⁰⁷ daimyo of Bungo (r. 1550–1587) mentions that a Portuguese merchant, Jorge de Faria, had arrived in Bungo when he was sixteen, that is, in 1546, this seems credible.¹⁰⁸ Jorge de Faria came with some five or six other Portuguese merchants on a Chinese trading junk, and the Chinese captain wanted Ōtomo Sōrin's father, Yoshiaki, to kill the Portuguese and seize their merchandise. Sōrin, however, interceded and defended the Portuguese merchants; the scheme was aborted. A year or so later, a Portuguese merchant by the name of Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão) came to Bungo and stayed there for five years, preparing the way for the missionaries with his serious life and deep faith.¹⁰⁹ Schurhammer guesses that he stayed in Bungo between 1546 and 1551, and if this is so, it must be concluded that he was the first westerner known to have lived in Japan over a longer period. Nothing much is otherwise known about Diogo Vaz, and one can wonder whether he was still in Bungo when Xavier¹¹⁰ arrived there in 1551 and whether he left at the same time as Xavier in November of that year.¹¹¹ Merchants, unfortunately, did not often write much (Pinto being an exception!), perhaps because they were mostly illiterate or half-literate, and therefore we cannot ascertain when and how long Diogo Vaz and other merchants stayed in Japan. Diogo Vaz was probably not the only Portuguese merchant already living for some time in Japan in this early period. Pinto writes that there were 40 Portuguese in Bungo when he came there on his second trip, but this must be dismissed as another of his many exaggerations. It is an indication, however, that there were Portuguese around, perhaps some 5–6, as a Japanese source has it.¹¹²

Japan's first encounter with Europeans was epoch-making in both Japanese and world history. It meant first of all that Japan's second internationalization began and that the process started that has continued until this day. Before, Japan had been a part of the East Asian world with China at the centre; now it became a part of the whole world. And it was as epoch-making in the military field as in the cultural field due to the introduction of the musket. Lord Tokitaka needed to experience a single shot to understand the value of the musket, and so did other Japanese. Within months the first Japanese musket was manufactured, and within a generation it had spread all over Japan. It made history in Japan, as it had done earlier in Europe and during the European expansion on other continents. There came to be a difference between those who had the new weapon and those who did not. Those who had the weapon, for example Oda Nobunaga (1534–82), decided the fate of the country for the next three centuries. Of course, Lord Tokitaka could not fathom the pivotal role that he played in this development, but he understood the importance of the new weapon which (as it is expressed in the *Teppōki*) could smash a mountain of silver and break through a wall of iron with one shot.

Further, Tanegashima's rôle should not be underestimated. It was ready when the musket arrived. The island possessed not only the iron but also the technical capacity. Some 30 iron smiths were at hand to work on producing the first Tanegashima *teppō* when commanded to by the lord of the island. The production is not often mentioned in the sources.¹¹³ It was only the screw at the end of the barrel that embarrassed them, but as

soon as this obstacle was overcome the manufacture of the musket could be undertaken—and the history of Japan could take a new direction.

CHAPTER TWO

The Record of the Musket (Teppōki)—a Translation

Written for Lord Tanegashima Hisatoki

[by Nanpo Bunshi]¹

To the south of Gūshū (Ōsumi Province)² 18 *ri*³ off the shore, there is an island called Tanega[shima] .⁴ My forbears have lived there for generations. According to a legend from ancient times, the name Tanega[shima], ‘The Seed Island’, is derived from the fact that the number of inhabitants, in spite of the smallness of the island, has grown and prospered like seeds (*tane*) which, once planted, grow and produce new seeds without number.

Some years ago in the Tenbun era (1532–54), on the 25th day of the eighth month in the autumn of the Mizunoto U (‘hare’) year (23rd September, 1543) a big ship had arrived at dawn (Hinoto Tori ‘cock’ hour)⁵ at Nishi(no)mura Bay. No one knew from what country it came. There were some 100 people on board, [among whom there were those] whose physical features differed from ours, and whose language was not understood. Those who saw them found them strange. Among them was a scholar from Great Ming (China).⁶ His personal name was Gohō (Ch. Wu-feng), but now nothing is surely known about his family name.

The chieftain of Nishi(no)mura at the time was Oribenōjō who knew written Chinese well.⁷ By chance meeting with Gohō, he conversed with him by writing in the sand with a stick. He wrote, ‘We do not know what country those people on board come from. They look strange, do they not?’ Gohō wrote in reply: ‘They are traders from among the southwestern barbarians (*seinanban*). They have some knowledge of the relationship between superior and inferior, but, otherwise, they do not know about propriety (*reibō*).⁸ Therefore, when they drink, they do not use cups, and when they eat, they use their fingers and not chopsticks, as we do. They show their feelings without any self-control and they do not know the written script or the use of it. Such traders are in the habit of roving from place to place, bartering things which they have for those they do not have. They are not very strange and are withal quite harmless.’⁹

Then Oribenōjō wrote, ‘13 *ri*¹⁰ from here is a seaport called Akōgi (Akaogi)¹¹ where the family whom I serve has lived for generations. The population of the seaport consists of several thousands of rich and prosperous households. Merchants from the south and traders from the north go back and forth there as continuously as the shuttle on a loom. Now, being anchored there, although it is not a deep port, is far better than here, since the port is sheltered and calm.’

When the report of the foreign ship was made to my grandfather, Shigetoki (1503–67),¹² and my father, Tokitaka (1528–79), [the latter], Tokitaka, dispatched tens of boats

to fetch the ship [to Akōgi] where it arrived two days later on the 27th day, the Tsuchinoto I ('pig') day (25 September 1543).¹³

Visiting the port at just that time was a monk Chū (Tadashi) Shuso (Shuza),¹⁴ a disciple of Ryūgen(ji Temple) in Nisshū (Hyūga).¹⁵ Desirous of learning the wonders of the One Vehicle Lotus Gospel (Hokke Ichijō), he was staying temporarily at the port. Having, in the end, left Zen and become a Hokke follower, he had taken the name Jūjōin. He was well versed in the Chinese classics and known for his agility with the brush. He happened to meet Gohō and they conversed in writing, and Gohō, too, felt that he had found a true friend in a foreign land. They spoke, as it were, the same language and understood each other. They were kindred spirits and two of a kind.

There were two leaders among the traders, the one called Murashukusha and the other Kirishita da Mōta. They had in their possession an object (*mono*) which was about two or three *shaku* in length.¹⁶ As for its shape, it was straight on the outside with a passage inside, and made of a heavy substance. Even though its inside was hollow, its bottom end was closed. There was an aperture at its side, through which fire was applied. Its shape could not be compared with anything else. When used, some mysterious (medicine) powder (*myōyaku*)¹⁷ was put into it and a small lead pellet was added. At first, a small white target was set up on a bank. When it was discharged, the man gripped the object with one hand, straightened his posture, and squinted with one eye. When thereupon fire issued from the opening, the pellet always hit the target squarely. The explosion seemed like lightning, and the sound like rolling thunder. All bystanders covered their ears.

Setting up a small target is like placing a 'swan' (*komanaku*) target in archery.¹⁸ One shot from this object can make a mountain of silver crumble and break through a wall of iron. Someone with aggression in mind toward a neighbouring country would lose his life instantly when hit. Needless to say, this also holds for the deer that ravage the rice just planted. The many ways this object can be used in the world cannot possibly be counted.

On seeing it, Lord Tokitaka thought it was the wonder of wonders. At first people did not know what to call it, nor exactly what it was used for. At last, people called it *teppō*, 'firearm', but it was not known whether it was named so by the Ming Chinese or by people on our island.

One day Tokitaka said to the two barbarians by means of double interpretation (*jūyaku*): 'I do not think that I am able, but I would like to learn [to shoot it]'.¹⁹ The two barbarians, also using double interpretation, answered: 'If you, lord, would like to learn [to shoot it], we would love to teach you all its secrets'. Tokitaka said: 'Can I really learn all its secrets?' The barbarians said: 'The secrets lie only in rectifying your heart and in squinting one eye'. Tokitaka said: 'As for rectifying the heart, the ancient sages taught people how to do it, and I have learned it'.²⁰ If, generally, one does not follow the principle under Heaven (*tenka no ri*) in action, movement and rest, one will necessarily end up in error.²¹ What you mean with "rectifying the heart", however, is perhaps something different? If you squint with one eye, you will not be able to see what is far away. Why should one, therefore, squint with one eye?' The barbarians responded: 'This is where concentration comes in and is necessary. When concentrating, a long vision is not necessary. Closing one eye does not mean that one cannot see clearly, but that one is concentrating and wishes to hit what is far away. This is what you should consider, lord'. Delighted, Tokitaka said, That corresponds to what Lao Tzu said: "To see what is small

clearly that is called clarity".²² Is not this what you talk about?"

That year, the day of the festival of the 9th day of the 9th month (*chōkyū no setsu*)²³ fell on the Kanoto I ('boar') day, and this day was chosen as the lucky day [to shoot the musket]. For trial the wondrous powder and a pellet were put into [the barrel], a small target was set up one hundred steps²⁴ away, and fire was applied to the weapon. And, lo and behold, the target was hit almost in dead centre!

People were at first startled, then they became frightened. In the end, however, they all said in unison: 'We would like to learn!' Regardless of the high price, Tokitaka purchased two *teppō* from the barbarians and kept them as precious treasures of his house (*kachin*).²⁵ As for the art of grinding, sifting and mixing the (wondrous medicine) gunpowder, Tokitaka had his retainer Sasakawa (or Shinokawa) Koshirō learn it.²⁶ Tokitaka practised shooting incessantly from morning to evening. As a result, he was able to convert the misses of his early attempts into hits—100 hits out of 100 shots.

At this time a priest, Suginobō, at Negoro Temple²⁷ in Kishū (Kii), who did not consider 1,000 ri²⁸ too far away [to obtain a *teppō*], [sent an emissary to] ask for one *teppō*. Tokitaka felt sympathy for the sincerity of the man's request and, showing generosity, he said: 'In ancient times the Lord of Jo (Ch. Shu)²⁹ took a liking to Kisatsu's (Ch. Chi-tsa) sword but did not dare to express his wish. Kisatsu, however, knew in his heart what he wanted and finally gave him the precious sword. My island is certainly small, but why should I be attached to and begrudge one object? Further, I have myself obtained it without asking for it, and I cannot sleep out of happiness, having it carefully hidden under ten wraps (*jūshū*).³⁰ What is more, how could I be happy in my heart, if I were so selfish as to keep it when it is asked for? What I like, others also like. How can I then have it by myself, well hidden and stored away?' So he ordered Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō to bring one *teppō* as a present to Suginobō and also ordered him to teach Suginobō how to prepare the wondrous powder and how to fire the gun.³¹

Tokitaka's interest in the weapon was so enthusiastic that he had a number of iron-workers' examine and study it carefully. Through months and over seasons they worked with the objective of producing a new musket. The form of the new weapon was much like [the foreign original], but the workers could not figure out how to close the bottom end [of the barrel].

The following year, southern barbarian traders came again and entered Kumano Bay on our island.³² This bay, named Kumano, is also likened to and called Little Rozan (Ko-rozan)³³ and Little Tenjiku (Ko-tenjiku).³⁴ As luck had it, there was among the traders one blacksmith, whom Tokitaka regarded as a godsend, and he ordered Lord Kinbee Kiyosada to learn how to close the end of the barrel that fitted into the stock. Finally, after some days and months he could manage to roll it to a close and had it completed. And in a little more than a year several tens of *teppō* were manufactured. Afterwards, the wooden stock (*dai*) was made and the ornament, which resembled a key, was added.

Tokitaka's interest lay neither in the wooden stock nor in the ornament but in the way that the weapon could be put to use at times of war. Therefore, his retainers, far and near, practised with it, and there were many among them who could score 100 hits out of 100 shots.

Afterwards, a man by the name of Tachibanaya Matasaburō, a merchant's apprentice from Sakai in Izumi Province, stayed for one or two years on our island. He learned to

use the *teppō* with such perfection that, upon his return home, everyone called him, not with his name, but Teppōmata, ‘The *Teppō* Master’. Thus, everyone in the provinces around the Kinai area learned to use the weapon, transferring the art from one to the other. And soon it was not only in the Kinai and Kansai areas, but likewise in the Kantō area that people could use it.

I once heard an old retainer [of my family] say: ‘Between the 11th and 12th years, the Mizunoe Tora and Mizunoto U (‘tiger’ and ‘hare’) years (1542 and 1543) of the Tenbun era, three new great merchant ships were about to set sail to the south for Great Ming China.³⁵ About 1,000 young men, sons of rich families of the Kinai area and of the area west of Kinai, set out to be merchants. A crew of several hundred rowers and sailors managed the ships as if they were (*kami*) gods. The ships anchored at our little island, waiting for good weather from Heaven. When thereupon the weather became favourable, they untied the ropes and rowed out, gazing seawards and turning to the God of the Sea (Jaku)³⁶. Unfortunately, however, a great storm raised the sea, and enormous waves billowed high with snow-capped crests. Was it [an unfortunate] time or was it [bad] fate? The main mast on one of the ships broke, so did the oars, and it was swallowed by the black sea. The second ship with difficulty reached Ning-po in Great Ming China,³⁷ but the third ship could not proceed and returned to our small island. Next year it again untied its ropes, and could finally realize its intention to sail south. Having loaded their ship to their satisfaction with foreign goods and treasures from barbarian lands and being on their way home to our land, a (black) furious storm blew up suddenly. They did not know whether they went east or west, but carried by the waves reached Izu Province on the Tōkaidō. The people of the province robbed them of their commodities and they also lost their belongings.

On the ship was our retainer Matsushita Gorōsaborō. He carried a *teppō*, and hit the target every time he shot. The people in the province saw it and marvelled. They saw, watched and copied and there were many who learned to use it. Afterwards, there was not a place in the eastern eight provinces and along the shores of our land to which it was not brought and where they did not learn to use it.’

Now, more than 60 years have gone since this object (*mono*) came to our land. There are some grey-haired people who still remember the event clearly. This could happen because our Lord Tokitaka procured the two *teppō* from the above-mentioned barbarians and learned to use them. The first shot from them reverberated through the 60 provinces of our country (Fusō)³⁸. Moreover, it was Lord Tokitaka who made iron-workers learn the technique of their manufacture and made it possible for it to spread over the entire country—the Five Central Provinces (Goki) and the Seven Roads (Shichidō).³⁹ It is hence certain that the *teppō* originated in our Tanegashima.

In ancient times people chose the simile of one seed growing and becoming new seeds without number, and so our island was called Tanegashima. Now it has been the first seed in the same manner.

The people of old said: ‘If the virtuous achievements of the forbears are not made clear to the world, the descendants are to blame’. For this reason we have written this [record].

*The 9th day of the 9th month of the
11th year of the Keichō era (11 October
1606).*

CHAPTER THREE

Translations of the Tanegashima kafu

Translation of Chapter 2, Shigetoki [partial]¹

Shigetoki, Sahyōe no jō, Kaga no kami, the Buddhist layman (*nyūdō*) Iyaku, (Tadatoki's son) was born in the 3rd year of Bunki, the Mizunoto I ('pig') year, 1503. On the 5th day of the 8th month of the 8th year of the Tenbun era, the Hinoto Tori ('cock') year, 1537, Abbot Nisshō of Honnōji Temple arrived.²

In the 7th year of the Tenbun era, the Tsuchinoe Inu ('dog') year, 1538, when Lord Nisshin³ and Shimazu Yoshihisa were in war, Mononobe Magozaemon, Annō Oki no kami and Tajiro Suruga no kami showed valour at Kaseda, Masegawa, and Fujinohara.⁴

On the 17th day of the 6th month of the 8th year of the Tenbun era, the Tsuchinoto I ('pig') year, 1539, at the time that Lord [Shimazu] Takahisa⁵ attacked Ichikihira Castle, Shigetoki reaped military merit.

On the 18th day of the 6th month [1539] Abbot Nisshō returned to the capital (*miyako*, i.e. Kyoto).

On the 6th day of the 6th month of the 9th year of the Tenbun era, the Kanoë Ne ('rat') year, 1540, a Chinese ship came up to Takezaki Bay (Takezaki no Ura, Kakinaga) [on Tanegashima].

Shigetoki loved hunting. Furthermore, he built a palace, but before construction was finished, he began to build it all over again. The people could not endure the corvée work. The supplicants with petitions filled the government offices. Although the officials remonstrated, he did not listen. The luxury grew more and more extreme. Therefore the officials conferred with each other, and it was their wish that Izumo no kami Tokinori should remonstrate and admonish him. Tokinori, out of fear, did not consent. The assembled officials expressed: 'Even though brothers are many, [they have the same mother]; ruler and people are all the more children of the same mother. It has to be remonstrated. It is said: "If the ruler has a remonstrating minister, he will not lose his country; if a father has a remonstrating son, he will not lose his good repute." I wish that you think about this carefully.' As a result, Tokinori could not help but remonstrate. Shigetoki did not listen. Afterwards, Tokinori was held in low esteem. Slandorous talk spread that he nursed a rebellious mind. He felt more and more out in the cold. Even though he expressed that he had no rebellion in mind, Shigetoki did not believe him. He said that Tokinori bore an intense grudge against him.

In the 12th year of Tenbun, the Mizunoto U ('hare') year, 1543, Izumo no kami Tokinori rose in rebellion. Together with Kawachi no kami Tokiyuki in secret he asked Nejime Ukondai Shigenaga for soldiers, and more than 200 soldiers were dispatched on a number of boats from Nejime with Shigenaga as the general. Noma Jirōsaemon Ienari—the son of Hōki no kami (since he knew much about the manufacture of arrows,

he had been invited to Nejime by Shigenaga)—acted as the scout. In the night of the 12th day [probably 22nd day, see the Tokitaka chapter on page 47 below] of the 3rd month they went ashore at Urata⁶ on our island and bivouacked on the shore of the bay. That night Ienari came in secret to Akōgi and talked with his father Hōki [no kami] (the *karō* elder of the house). Hōki [no kami] was surprised, and first of all had Ienari return to his home town. Consequently he informed Nishimura Iki no kami Tokihiro and Tokihiro hurried to Yakuda (where Shigetoki and Naotoki were) and informed Shigetoki. Shigetoki pondered and then said: 1 am hesitant. For the time being I want to avoid hostilities. You lords, follow Naotoki and prepare the defence. Take command of the soldiers!’ So he left for Hamatsuwaki, boarded a small boat and crossed over to Yakushima (with some tens of followers) in order to avoid the hostilities. Therefore, Naotoki (later his name was changed to Tokitaka) took over the defence of the Inner Castle.⁷ This is described more in detail in the chronicle about Tokitaka.

In the fourth month Shigetoki returned to the main island [Tanegashima].

On the 15th day of the 5th month Shigetoki handed over Nishimura Iki no kami Tokihiro to Higo and Shimōsa no kami Tokinori and had Izumo no kami [Tokinori] commit suicide at Inoue. Tokinori had a three-year-old son and his wet-nurse fled with him to (Gūshū) Ōsumi. He was later named Izumo no kami Tokitsura. The branch of the Tokitsura faction became the servants of Lord Taishu (Shimazu). The descendants live in Kagoshima. Kawachi no kami was beheaded in the Inner Castle and Noma Jirōsaemon was beheaded at Masuda Village.

On the 25th day of the 8th month [of Tenbun 12, 1543] a great ship arrived at Nishinomura. It was not known from what country it came. Among the (guests) people on board the ship were some whose physical features differed from ours, and whose language was not understood. Those who saw them found them strange. Nishimura Oribenōjō Tokitsura, the chieftain of Nishinomura Village, wrote with a stick upon the sand, ‘We do not know from what country those people on the ship come from’. There was a Confucian scholar from the Great Ming [on the ship], with the name Gohō (Ch. Wu-feng), and he wrote in answer: ‘They are traders from among the south-western barbarians. They are not very strange’.

For this reason Tokitsura sent a person in haste to report to [Lord] Shigetoki. (Nishinomura is located about 13 *ri* from Akōgi Castle.) Shigetoki immediately ordered his retainers to have the ship tugged by small boats [to Akōgi], where it arrived on the 27th day. It was brought into Akōgi harbour.

There were two leaders among the traders, one named Murashukusha and the other Kirishita da Mōta. They carried in their hands an object which could not be compared with anything known. Its use was both strange and wondrous. It was named *teppō*. When Tokitaka saw it, he thought that it was a most superior weapon. He asked for and obtained two (pieces) *teppō* from the barbarians and considered them the treasures of his house (*kachin*). Moreover he ordered a (iron artisan) smith to copy and reproduce the weapon. The shape [of what he manufactured] was very much like the original, but it was not (yet) perfect.

On the 4th day of the 1st month of 13th year of the Tenbun era, the Kinōe Tatsu (‘dragon’) year (27 January 1544), Shigetoki and Tokitaka had Higo and Shimōsa no kami Tokinori invade Yakushima Island and defeat the Nejime forces. Tokinori weighed

anchor in the night, sailed with his soldiers, and arrived at dawn at Kusugawa River. He crossed immediately to the area of Miya no Uragawa and routed the Nejime forces there. The [enemy] forces at Anbō, Imō and other places heard this, assembled at Nagata Castle and prepared their defence there. Tokinori sent a priest as messenger to entice them: ‘If you fight someone who is superior in number, you have no chance. Why do you not open up the castle, and return home [to Nejime] alive? If you do, a boat will be at your disposal and you can return to Nejime safely.’ The [Nejime] forces understood that they were inferior and could not win the fight, and in the end they assented. Accordingly, Tokinori ordered that a big ship be prepared, but in secret he had a hole bored at the bottom of the ship which was plugged. Then the [Nejime] soldiers were brought on board. The boat sailed out in a northeastern wind, but after only 4–5 *ri*, because the wind had become inconvenient, it turned back and came to Tsunose (Yotsunose), a steep and narrow place between Yoshida and Nagata. The stopper that clogged the hole was released, and the sailors came ashore. The ship sank and a great number of soldiers drowned. When those among them who could swim came up on land, [our] forces were ready and massacred them. In this manner Yakushima Island was returned [to Tanegashima].

In the spring of this year (1544) a southern barbarian ship came to the bay of Kumano. Among the (guests) people on board was an iron smith. Shigetoki and Tokitaka considered him a godsend. They had Kinbee Kiyosada learn how to make the *teppō* from him. And in one year some ten(s) of new *teppō* were manufactured. It spread in the world. Did the ‘Japan *teppō*’ (*nippon-teppō*) originate in this way?

On the 14th day of the 4th month (1544) a ship for China (*totōsen*) (its name was *Nigōsen*) weighed anchor and left.⁸

On the 14th day of the 6th month of the 14th year of Tenbun, the Kinoto-mi (‘snake’) year, 1545, *Nigōsen* returned to our land [from China].

In this year (1548) Shigetoki went to the capital (*miyako*). He returned in the 12th month.

In the 9th year of Eiroku, the Hinoe-tora (‘tiger’) year 1566, Shigetoki went to Nejime and stayed at the home of Hitachi no suke (Shigetoki’s uncle). Tokitaka was not happy, and he had a boat sent for him and went to meet it. On the 5th day of the 3rd month, when they were about to arrive home, they met with a storm and drifted to Uchi no ura. On the sea a number of pirate ships threatened and attacked Shigetoki’s boat. Shinogawa Saemonbyōe fell in the battle.⁹ There was much fighting on the boat, but in the end they escaped and returned to the island. Hereafter Shigetoki retired at Annōmura Village.

On the 4th day of the 3rd month of the 10th year of Eiroku, the Hinoto U (‘hare’) year (1567), Kaga no Kami Shigetoki died at the age of 65.

TRANSLATION OF THE TANEGASHIMA KAFU, CHAPTER 3, TOKITAKA [PARTIAL]

Child’s name: Inukusumaru, childhood name: Naotoki; [titles:] Sahyōe no jō, Danjō no chū, Jūgoi no ge and Sakon no shōgen;¹⁰ as a Buddhist layman (*nyūdō*) his name was Kachō.

Tokitaka was born on the 10th day of the 2nd month of the 1st year of Kyōroku, the

Tsuchinoe Ne ('rat') year, 1528. His mother was the daughter of Shimazu Satsuma no kami Tadaoki.¹¹

In the 12th year of the Tenbun era, the Mizunoto U ('hare') year, 1543, Izumo no kami Tokinori and Kawachi no kami Tokiyuki rose in rebellion, and secretly invited Nejime Shigenaga. Shigenaga came with soldiers and in the night of the 22nd day of the 3rd month they arrived at Urata on our island. On the 23rd day they marched from there, and via Ōmine and Hazenomine¹² came up to the entrance of the New Castle (*shinjō*).¹³ At the time Hidaka Oki no kami and his younger brother (a deaf-mute who was good at arrow-shooting) came out with two followers and fought (Oki no kami's house is located at the bottom of that hill). They killed some ten enemies and all four died fighting. The enemy forces advanced and surrounded the Inner Castle (*uchijō*) and immediately began the attack on the castle. The situation became serious quite suddenly, and the people outside the castle did not know what happened. In the castle were only the lord's retainers, Kunikami Hitachi no suke Tokitake; his son Kazusa Tokimitsu; his younger brother Kurō, Tsumagari Mikawa no kami; Kamisato (real family name Mononobe) Bizen no kami; Sakai (real family name Hidaka) Sakyō no Shin; Sameshima Tosho no suke Yoshimasa; Uchida Uemonnohyōe; Nishimura Iki no kami Tokihiro, his son Oribenōjō Tokitsura; Noma Hōki no kami Ietsugu; Hidaka Kai no kami; Aritome Iga no kami and others; in addition some fifty soldiers. Naotoki (aged 16) said, 'One should just fight desperately, meet one's fate and earn a glorious name for posterity!' He took command of the soldiers and led the defence. Everyone fought in a frenzied way and 47 enemies were killed. Those who died on our side were Kunigami Kurō, Sameshima Tosho, Hidaka Kai, Aritome Iga, Nagano Heizaemon and some ten others. Among them Sameshima fought most valiantly and cut down several enemies. He penetrated deeply in among the enemies and died in battle. Nagano fought with Nejime Tatsuyoshi and died. The enemy took advantage of its successes and was already tumultuously entering the Inner Castle. In this situation, on everyone's advice, Naotoki (Uchida-shi carried the wounded Naotoki on his back from the Inner Castle) came to Myōkuji Temple (to the north of the Inner Castle). Naotoki called on the abbot of Hongenji Temple¹⁴ to be his messenger to Shigenaga. When the abbot was late in coming, they called on Jukō, a traveller (*ryōkaku*) from Sakai in Izumi Province (an artist), to go to Shigenaga and tell him, 'Naotoki's forces are weak and exhausted; he awaits death at Myōkuji Temple. He asks only that you send people and imprison him'. Shigenaga answered, 'I bear no grudge against Naotoki. Why should he die? I heard that Shigetoki did not follow the Way of righteousness (*mudō*) and made the people suffer. Therefore I wished to come and punish him for his crimes. I only want to have Shigetoki chastised. Methinks that we are of the same ancestors and that we were brothers in earlier lives. Why must we then be in conflict? Henceforth the father may live separately from his son or if the slanderers are removed, my wish is that they live together and that Naotoki takes care of his father'. Thus, they had Shigenaga allow that [Shigetoki] live in the house of Hirayama Bichū no kami Tomoshige (the *karō* elder at the time) while Naotoki moved to the house of Hirayama Mikawa no kami, Tomotsugu (Tomotsugu was Tomotōru's son). Shigenaga said: 'I did not think that we would fight and that some tens of my valiant soldiers were to die. What I ask is that one district of Yakushima Island is severed and that I receive it. If so, I can return to my home and I can compensate the relatives of those who have

died.’ Tokihiro, Ietsugu, Tsumagari, Kamisato, Uchida, Noma and others conferred and artfully said: ‘If Naotoki is pardoned and allowed to live, why should we begrudge Yakushima Island? Let us hand over the whole island!’ (This was with a plan for restoration. If one district was given, the enemy would be in one place, and the advantage would in truth be on his side; if the enemy were divided in three districts, it would be a disadvantage for him and the advantage would be on our side.) Shigenaga said: ‘I asked for one district and get the whole island, this was what I wanted from the beginning. I just want to get a written oath from Naotoki’. At the time Kamisato (*yūhitsu*, scribe) set up a written oath, and falsified Naotoki’s seal and handed it over to Shigenaga.¹⁵ (The fraud was not made known to Naotoki; Kamisato handed over the document). Shigenaga bowed joyfully twice, and sent 150 men, on horse and on foot, to take over and defend Yakushima. In the 4th month Shigenaga returned to his home town. (The story about the return [of Yakushima] in the following year is found in the chronicle about Shigetoki).

On the 25th day of the 8th month of Tenbun 12 (1543) the southern barbarians brought the *teppō*. When Tokitaka saw the way it was used, he marvelled and wished to learn to use it. [Asking about it,] he did not understand the words. Fortunately there was a Confucian scholar from Ming China (*min-jusha*) who explained things using Chinese characters. Tokitaka was very happy when things were described in this manner. He learned to use it skillfully and soon managed 100 hits out of 100 shots (*hyakuhatsu-hyakuchū*). Also many of his retainers learned to use it. In the meantime Sasakawa Koshirō learned how to make gunpowder. Its use in the world cannot be overestimated.

That the southern barbarians had brought the method of preparing the marvellous gunpowder (*myōyaku*), unparelled in quality, for the *teppō* reached the ears of the emperor (that is, the shogun), and Lord Konoë Taneie brought an official letter of commendation to Tokitaka (1549).¹⁶

Tokitaka loved the military arts. He learned the arts of the sword, the spear and the lance with Minamoto Nobusada as his teacher. He received a diploma in the 20th year of Tenbun, the Kanoto I (‘pig’) year, 1551.

On the 17th day of the 2nd month in the 4th year of Kōji era, the Tsuchinoë uma (‘horse’) year, 1558, Tokitaka was accorded the title of Sakon no shōgen.

In the 3rd year of the Eiroku era, the Kanoë Saru (‘monkey’) year, 1560, Tokitaka, having some plan in mind, handed over the house to his son Tokitsugi, who was five years old.

In this year (1560) Tokitaka went to the capital (*miyako*).

On the 28th day of the 8th month (1560) Nejime Shigenaga sent Nejime Tatsuyoshi as his messenger. Nagano Gotōzaemon Hideaki killed him and [thereupon] committed suicide. [Nagano] Tairazaemon Saneaki had been killed by Tatsuyoshi during Shigenaga’s invasion in the Tenbun era. Hideaki was then only seven years old. Growing older, he nursed a hatred toward [Nejime Tatsuyoshi] and therefore he took this revenge.

In the summer of the 4th year of the Eiroku era, the Kanoto Tori (‘cock’) year (1561), Lord Taishu fought against Kimotsuki¹⁷ at Meguri.¹⁸ At the time Hidaka Izumi and Nishimura Echizen defended Shibushi and earned merit.

Tokitaka’s daughter was married to Lord Taishu Yoshihisa. (The year is uncertain. Was it perhaps in the 5th year of the era [1562]?) On the 21st day of the 1st month she departed from this (land) island, [escorted by] Nishimura Iki no kami Tokiyo, Furuichi

Toneri, Kajiware Mondo (Tokiyo returned to our island, Toneri and Mondo settled in Kokubu and became the lord's samurai), Ichinodai Kunigami's daughter (she was favoured by Lord Taishu and received 1,000 *koku* of land, adopted Ise Nagato no kami's second son and made him her heir. His name was Mondo no suke Tokimori), and Tsubone-yaku, Kawahigashi's daughter (she was favoured by Lord Taishu and received 300 *koku* of new land. She adopted Furuichi Nagato no kami's second son and made him her heir. His name was Tosa no kami Tokihiro). There were also some ten female servants who escorted her.

On the 1st day of the 10th month of the Eiroku era, the Mizunoe Inu ('dog') year, 1562, Tokitsugi died. Tokitaka again (listened to) took care of the state affairs.

In the 6th year of the Eiroku era, the Mizunoto I ('pig') year, 1563, Tokitaka rebuilt the Hongenji Temple on top of the hill. Earlier Tokitaka had contemplated to build a house there, wishing to live there, but because Tokitsugi died, [he changed his mind and] it came to this. (Earlier the Hongenji had been located at the foot of the hill).

In the 9th year of Eiroku, the Hinoe-tora ('tiger') year, 1560, Shigetoki stayed in Nejime for several months. Tokitaka sent a boat and went to meet him. En route they met with difficulties. The matter is described in more detail in the chronicle about Shigetoki.

Nejime Shigenaga sent troops to Takeshima¹⁹ and attacked Issō on Yakushima. Further, he set fire to (Kuchino)erabu Island.²⁰ At the time, Hirase Iwami was on (Kuchino)erabu Island and defended it. In the end he was taken prisoner and was in Nejime for years. Later, he entered a dugout boat (*marukibune*) and returned alone from Hetsuka in Sata [to Tanegashima].²¹

Tokitaka departed from Kagoshima to return to Tanegashima. On his way he arrived at Ōdomari Bay (in the Nejime domain). He had Nishimura Suō no kami Tokikuro (or Tokiharu) and Kōzuma Awa no kami Ietsugu go ashore and set fire to people's houses (more than 100 houses were burned down in Hamamura). A samurai guards-man (*shoshi*) came upon them with a raised lance and attacked Ietsugu. Ietsugu fought furiously, brandishing his lance, and stabbed him to death. Tokikuro rushed forth and cut off his head. There was no one else defending the place. Tokitaka was happy, and returning to his island, he commended Tokikuro and Ietsugu for their bravery and rewarded them. After that Lord Taishu ordered [Nejime] Shigenaga to make peace with Tokitaka.

[Nejime] Shigenaga had Nejime Etsuzan go and talk to Tokitaka. He stated [representing Shigenaga]: 'I and you are descendants of families that lived brotherly in former generations and were good neighbours. If from now on we live together in peace and in our hearts are at one with Itō [Yoshisuke, lord of Hyūga, d. 1584] (San'i Nyūdō),²² our houses will as a result last long, but if we join with Sōshū (Lord Nisshin [Shimazu Sasuga no kami Tadayoshi, 1492–1568]),²³ harm will be inflicted on our sons and grandsons for ever. Consider this carefully!' Tokitaka laughed and said, 'If we preserve loyalty and filial piety, our sons and grandsons will flourish as a result. How stupid Shigenaga's words are! Etsuzan, go and do not come again! If you come again, your life will be in jeopardy!' Etsuzan returned, trembling with fear. (Messengers came several times; therefore it is recorded here.)

In the 11th year of Eiroku, the Tsuchinoe-Tatsu ('dragon') year, 1568, Tokitaka, worrying about not having an heir, sent Tokikuro as his messenger to ask that Taishu Ōtomo Yoshishige's illegitimate son (his name was Hayashi-dono) become his adopted

son. At the time, the daughter of Kuroki Michizumi (a retainer), who was Tokitaka's mistress and carried his favour, was pregnant. Tokikuro thought, 'If now, upon coming to an agreement with Tokikuro, a son is born, nothing can be done about it even though one regrets it. We had better wait and see whether it will be a boy or a girl', and he refused several times [to undertake the mission]. Tokitaka did not listen to him, and unable to avoid it, Tokikuro arrived in Bungo in the early 10th month. Yoshishige had heard about it from other quarters, and asked happily about it. Tokikuro said, 'It is not about that matter. When Tokitaka has spare time, he loves to hunt with hawks. Now, however, hawks are rare [on Tanegashima] but Tokitaka heard recently that you have many of them in your province. Therefore I have come to ask for them.' On purpose he did not mention the truth [his real mission]. Tokikuro thought, 'If a daughter is born, I will go a second time, pay the expenses myself and accomplish Tokitaka's great desire'. He did not say anything about the adoption.

On the 28th day of the 10th month a boy was born (the mother being of the Kuroki family).²⁴ The lord and his ministers were overjoyed. Nothing could be done, however, about the Bungo affair, and they could only patiently wait for Tokikuro's return.

In the 11th month Tokikuro returned. He arrived in late at night at Amadomari harbour and when he heard that an heir had been born, he was very happy. He went to see Tokitaka who was told about what had happened at Bungo. Both lord and ministers yelled hurray and Tokikuro was commended and given [the title of] Suō [no kami] and awarded the position of steward (*jitō*) of Kukinagamura.

In the era of Genki (1570–72) Itō, Kimotsuki, Nejime and Ijichi rose in revolt against Lord Taishu [Shimazu Yoshihisa]²⁵ and were repeatedly victorious. Because of the pirate activities of these four houses some 40 vessels, which trafficked between Tanegashima and Kagoshima, were pillaged (Tokitaka's private boats and merchant ships). When Mononobe Magozaemon sailed across the Nejime Sea, Nejime Magojirō assembled some ten(s of) warships and attempted an attack on Mononobe's ship. Mononobe escaped by hurriedly shooting arrows and firing *teppō*. Because Magojirō was at first hit by a *teppō* shot, disorder erupted on board. Mononobe's followers took advantage of their strength and increased the *teppō* fire. Many were killed and injured. The enemy boats could not resist at all and were defeated. Kukinaga (Mononobe) luckily evaded the danger of the tiger's mouth and reached Kagoshima, where he met Lord Taishu [Shimazu] Yoshihisa. He was called into the lord's presence and was commended.

Further, when Nishimura Echizen Tokiyasu and Furuichi Tanba were on their way to Kagoshima, they avoided the open sea and sailed into a side bay. At the time, Ijichi's pirates came on three ships. Tokiyasu was not aware that they were enemy crafts. They came up suddenly and the pirates tried climbing on board in great numbers. Tokiyasu and Tanba thwarted the enemy with bow and lance, and in heavy fighting killed fourteen enemies. However, the enemy was superior in number, and in the end they came rushing on board Tokiyasu's ship. Tokiyasu and Tanba were severely injured, and all followers suffered injuries also. Captain Wake Yozaemon died fighting. Tokiyasu and Tanba and the followers all jumped into the sea, and luckily avoided death. Tokiyasu suffered much from his wounds, but recovered slowly over a month. At this time there was a child on board, Tsumagari Jinbee, who was taken prisoner and was kept in South Ōsumi (Shimo—ōsumi) for years before being returned to our island.

Tokitaka ordered Higo no kami Tokinori and Kōzuma Ietsugu to repair Nagata Castle on Yakushima.

In the 2nd year of Tenshō, the Kinoe Inu ('dog') year, 1574, Lord Taishu [Shimazu Yoshihisa] fought Kimotsuki at Ushine Castle. At the time, Tokitaka's younger brother Danjō Tokishiki came to that place with his soldiers and excelled in military loyalty.²⁶ Lord Yoshihisa was impressed and commended him, bestowing him the title Musashi no kami and giving him a set of armour. Furthermore, Ishidō Rokubee showed valour and was bestowed the honorary name of Kira and given a sword.

In the 11th month of the 6th year of Tenshō, the Tsuchinoe Tora ('tiger') year (1578), Ōtomo Sōrin of Bungo attacked Takajō Castle in Nisshū (Hyūga Province) with several tens of thousands of troops. Lord Yoshihisa's soldiers defeated him. At this time, Iwakawa Iki no kami Morimasa, Endō Yozaemon no suke and Furuichi Sanuki no kami came with troops and showed valour. At this time, Morimasa cut down Ōtomo's samurai, Saitō Shinshirō, excelling in valour.²⁷

In the 7th year of Tenshō, the Tsuchinoto U ('hare') year (1579), Lord Yoshihisa sent Kamada Owari no kami Masatoshi, Nyūdō Kansei, and had him support Higo no jō Etchū no kami Chikamasa. At the time Nishimura Echizen no kami Tokiyasu and Noma Chikuzen no kami Ietoshi came with troops and following Masatoshi they earned military merit again and again.

On the 20th day of the 3rd month [in the 7th year, 1579] Ōtomo Yoshishige (Sōrin), together with a missive, bestowed a *tachi* sword and a *katana* sword upon Tokitaka.

On the 2nd day of the 10th month of the 7th year of Tenshō (1579), the Tsuchinoto U ('hare') year (1579), Tokitaka died. He was 52 years of age. His Buddhist name was Hōshō'in-dono Nisshō Daikoji.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Tanegashima Family and the Tanegashima kafu

When the first Portuguese met the young lord of Tanegashima, Tokitaka (or Naotoki), they had, as true barbarians, no idea of the long and entangled historical tradition that met them. The island had since early Kamakura times been connected with the lordship of one family of Taira origin and the question is whether it was the island or the family that received the name Tanegashima first. The first Tanegashima lord, Nobumoto, was, after the debacle of the Tairas, enfeoffed with the ‘twelve islands in the southern sea’ (*nankai jūnitō*), the largest among them being the island of Tanegashima.¹ According to tradition, Nobumoto was the great-grandson of Taira no Kiyomori (1118–81) and the son of Taira no Yukimori (no dates).² Further, according to the same tradition, he was spared from Minamoto Yoritomo’s rage and adopted by Hōjō Tokimasa (1138–1215) whose daughter, Masako (1157–1225), was Minamoto no Yoritomo’s wife. Tokitaka was the 14th generation in the genealogy beginning with Nobumoto. The rule of the family was to continue down to the 25th generation, Hisanao (1854–82), who in the 2nd year of Meiji (1869) ‘restored’ the Tanegashima fief to the government in Edo, now Tokyo. In the *Tanegashima kafu* the chronicle continues until 1891 with the 27th generation, Moritoki (1879–1929). The 28th generation of the family, Tokimochi (1907–54) lived on the island and the 29th generation of the family, Tanegashima Tokikuni (b. 1949) today lives in Kagoshima.³

From early times Tanegashima was close to Satsuma province on the mainland. A formal alliance in Muromachi times existed from 1366 at least under the seventh generation, Lord Yoritoki (?–1366), and during the Tokugawa era the island was a sub-fief under Satsuma. Administration took place on two levels. The higher officials came from Kagoshima, while lower local administration was in the hands of the Tanegashima family. Occasional inspections emanating from Edo also took place in Tokugawa times.⁴ Marriages regularly helped to seal the close relationship between Satsuma and Tanegashima. Shigetoki was the first Tanegashima lord to marry a Shimazu woman, the daughter of Shimazu Tadaoki, and she was the mother of Tokitaka. Tokitaka’s daughter was thereupon married to Shimazu Yoshihisa in 1562,⁵ and it is carefully described how she was escorted by a number of ladies-in-waiting and others to Kagoshima. Inter-marriage between the two families continued over later generations and generated a blood kinship between them.⁶ The Taira line from Nobumoto was broken with the 23rd generation, Hisamichi (1793–1829), who ruled between 1817 and 1829. The following lords beginning with Hisamitsu (1822–1854, ruled from 1829), came from the Shimazu house, thus ending a 600-year-long tradition. The difference was, however, not so great. Over the centuries, the Tanegashima Taira house and the Shimazu Minamoto house had become so intertwined through marriage that the blood must have been the same and the

houses identical.



Figure 5: The 14th-generation Tanegashima lord, Tanegashima Tokitaka (1528–79), and his 29th-generation descendant, Tanegashima Tokikuni (b. 1949). Sculpture by Nakamura Shinya (b. 1926).
Photograph: the author

The *Tanegashima kafu* is the chronicle of the Tanegashima family and covers the history of the island from the time when Taira no Nobumoto arrived in the 12th century until the 27th generation in Meiji times. It was written in *kanbun* and in several stages. The first version was written by Kōzuma Takanao who was ordered in 1673 to undertake the project by the 18th-generation Tanegashima, Hisatoki (1639–1710),⁷ and was called *Tanegashima-fu*. It was extended a century later under the name of *Tanegashima seitō keizu* and again one last time in the 19th century when it received the final name *Tanegashima kafu*. In its totality it comprises 89 chapters from the first lord Nobumoto to the 27th lord Moritoki (1890–91). It is thus a long chronicle, which in a modern Japanese hand-written edition comprises 1,341 pages. Even though focused on the affairs of Tanegashima's lords, the chronicle tells much about economic matters, religion, warfare and social events. It is a gold mine for researchers who want to delve into Japanese history in a limited outer area.

Although the first chapters of the *Tanegashima kafu* were compiled as late as in the 1670s, it must be surmised that there was some house chronicle from early times to which Kōzuma referred when he began the work. The chronicle devotes only one page to the first lord, Nobumoto,⁸ with no dates given for his birth or death. It is also fragmentary with regard to the second, third, fourth and fifth lords, again with no dates given. It is still rather lapidary with regard to the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth lords. Dates are given for the death of the sixth lord, Tokimitsu (1397), and the seventh, Yorimochi (1366), and there are both birth and death dates for the eighth lord, Kiyotoki (1362–1427). It is only with the 11th lord, Tokiujī (1447–1504), that we find a somewhat longer—and more reliable—account. Moreover, all the first eleven lords are presented in one chapter only. A fire in the 1520s might be the reason for the paucity of records of early times. The second chapter introduces two lords—the 12th and 13th—and it is with the 13th lord, Shigetoki, that our interest in the Tanegashima chronicle is aroused. The following chapter, number three, also deals with two lords, basically with the 14th, Tokitaka, but also with his son Tokitsugu whose rule was brief (1560–1562). Subsequent chapters concentrate on one lord only with some lords having more than one chapter devoted to them. For example, no less than sixteen chapters—covering the years 1815 to 1831—are devoted to the 23rd lord, Lord Hisamichi. The chronicle thus tends to be longer and more detailed in Tokugawa times, while it remains succinct in pre-Tokugawa times.

The second work that is of interest for the present project, the *Teppōki*, was written before the first chapters of the *Tanegashima kafu*. It is dated 1606, and was therefore recorded some sixty years earlier. It is interesting that much language runs parallel in the two works, and it can therefore be imagined that Kōzuma had the *Teppōki* at hand when he wrote the first version of the *Tanegashima kafu*. It is equally possible that he had the original house chronicle at his disposal and that Nanpo and Kōzuma had the same starting point in the family archive of the Tanegashima family. Kōzuma must, have had the *Teppōki* at hand as it most certainly formed part of the family archive and it is natural that he copied it at times. However, so much is different in the two works that it must be a foregone conclusion that Kōzuma used family sources of a much wider scope than only the *Teppōki*. On the other hand, Nanpo must also have had other sources, since he relates events and facts that do not appear in the *Tanegashima kafu*. Nanpo seems also to have

literary style in mind as he elaborated on certain events in terse and at times difficult Chinese. The *Tanegashima kafu* is in comparison short and factual. One example is the meeting between Nishimura Oribenōjō and the Chinese Gohō, which is quickly disposed of in the *Tanegashima kafu* while their conversation is given in an interesting fashion in the *Teppōki*.

It is also the *Tanegashima kafu* that gives a complete picture of the rather complicated political situation on the island at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese. The *Teppōki* mentions Shigetoki and Tokitaka, father and son, together when it is reported to Akōgi that the junk has arrived, but afterwards it is only the son, Tokitaka, who is mentioned. In the *Tanegashima kafu*, however, it is the father that directs the junk to Akōgi. As such, one does not get a clear picture of who the true lord was at the time—the 40-year-old father or the 15-year-old son. All logic would mean that it was the father who ruled the island and that the son was an obedient young lad by his side. However, as already noted, the *Teppōki* only mentions the father once and then gives the impression that the son was the lord of the island.

The *Tanegashima kafu* clarifies the situation. It narrates how Shigetoki had made himself unpopular with his high-handed rule over the island, and how it had come to a revolt by the end of the second month of 1543, in which forces from Nejime on the mainland had participated, led by Nejime Shigenaga. Shigetoki preferred fleeing to Yakushima, handing over the defence of the castle to his 15-year-old son. When the castle was overrun, the young Tokitaka still known by his childhood name, Naotoki—was brought to a nearby monastery and a messenger sent to Nejime Shigenaga saying that Naotoki was ready to die and that Nejime Shigenaga should come and imprison him. Nejime Shigenaga chose, however, to pardon the son, since it was after all the father he pursued; the son was allowed to assume the lordship and even take care of his father, Shigetoki. The *Tanegashima kafu* later mentions laconically that Shigetoki returned from Yakushima to Tanegashima in the fourth month.

The Nejime invasion has some moot points however. It seems that Shigetoki's younger brother, Tokinori, played a prominent role and possibly was the instigator of the invasion. Apparently in an act of revolt he turned to Nejime Shigenaga and asked for Nejime forces to invade Tanegashima and unseat Shigetoki because of his misrule of the island. The *Tanegashima kafu* makes it unquestionable that there were many who were dissatisfied with Shigetoki's overbearing manners and disregard of remonstrations. Tokinori was made use of in this situation and became unpopular with his elder brother, the lord, and it ended with his turning to Nejime and asking for support to overthrow Shigetoki. In this he initially succeeded but ultimately had to commit suicide, paying with his life for his role in the revolt. One source has it that the young son, Naotoki, was also involved in the revolt, having fled to Nejime the year before asking for help.⁹ This is however rather improbable. He was only fifteen and could not possibly have been the instigator. Since he was also allowed to assume the lordship, he could not have been involved. The fact that he was also ready to die when the Nejime forces overran the castle at Akōgi also shows that he could not have been implicated in the revolt. All the details of this war will never be clear, but the *Tanegashima kafu* ought to be believed when it states that it was Tokinori who rose in revolt, without mentioning any participation of Tokitaka.

It should be remembered that Nejime Shigenaga was a vigorous lord who apparently,

in a typically *sengoku* manner, was intent on building up a strong domain and a power base for himself on the Ōsumi peninsula. It might have been his plan from the beginning to take Yakushima in order to control the sea traffic in the Ōsumi Channel. In this case he might have been the initiator of the war with Tanegashima which also ended with his receiving the island. The *Tanegashima kafu* shows that the hostilities between Nejime and Satsuma, naturally involving Tanegashima, continued into the 1570s both on land and on sea. For example, a coalition was formed in 1570 between Hyūga, Kimotsuki, Ijichi and Nejime against Satsuma, and an emissary tried earlier, in 1566, to convince Tokitaka to join in the coalition.¹⁰ The central person in all these political maneuvers seems to have been Nejime Shigenaga. The guess is therefore that the real reason for Nejime's invasion in 1543 was not Shigetoki's mis-management of Tanegashima, but Nejime Shigenaga's schemes for territorial expansion and the establishment of a strong Nejime domain on the Ōsumi peninsula.¹¹

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that this is the first and only time we hear of an invasion of and external intervention in the political affairs of Tanegashima. Further, the chronicle never mentions any great disturbances within the island or between the islands. Piracy on the sea and occasional coastal ravages are noted but never internal warfare. When Tanegashima samurai and soldiers were involved in warfare, this was usually siding with Satsuma on Kyushu. This happened regularly. Later a contingent participated in Hideyoshi's Korean war (1592–98) and lastly a contingent partook in the Shimabara Incident (1637–38).

This development meant that, when the Portuguese came, the son, no longer named Naotoki but Tokitaka, was in name ruling the island, but with his father at his side. Nothing is said explicitly about any transfer of power and it seems for some time to have been a symbiotic rule of the island. Tokitaka was the nominal ruler of the island, while his father stayed in the background but was always there until his death in 1567. It is only natural that it was the father who made the decisions in his son's name.

It is not mentioned when Tokitaka's name was formally changed from the childhood Naotoki to the lordly name of Tokitaka, under which he is mentioned in the chronicle. When the Shigetoki and Tokitaka chronicles are compared, it is evident that the invasion in the 3rd month is where the line between the two names has to be drawn. When Shigetoki ran away and had his son take over the fight with the Nejime forces, he also handed over the island to his son. Even though he came back one month later, he was no longer the real ruler, only the father who acted together with his son. Also the Shigetoki chronicle no longer refers to the son with his boyhood name Naotoki but with the lordly name Tokitaka.

Pinto's *Peregrinaçam* might be of interest and some help at this point. It states that the lord who meets the Portuguese and invites them to his palace is named Naotaquim (also Naotoquim) which is rather close to Naotoki. In all probability it was the name Naotoki that Pinto heard and Naotaquim (Naotoquim) is a natural word corruption. This is an indication that Tokitaka was still referred to as Naotoki at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in September, 1543. But why is the father never referred to, not even when they visit the palace? And why is it not mentioned that the lord was a young boy of only 15 years of age? At the time of Pinto's second alleged visit to Japan, in 1546, the ship arrives at Tanegashima, and Naotaquim is said to have come on board the ship. There is

again no mention of the father; likewise, the age of the lord, now 18, is not referred to. Now, as will be discussed in Chapter 6 below, Pinto was most certainly not on the first junk that arrived at Tanegashima, but was possibly on Jorge Alvares' carrack (*náo*) that came in 1546.¹² If he had been on the first junk, he would have said something about both the age of the young lord and about the father. As he most certainly built his narrative on secondhand information, it is natural that he overlooked facts which would have entered the story naturally had he been there in person.

In the *Tanegashima kafu* it is apparent again and again that the father Shigetoki and the son Tokitaka acted in unison. For example, they are mentioned together when it is decided that the *teppō* should immediately be copied and manufactured on the island. And they are mentioned together when the invasion and recovery of Yakushima was planned and executed in January 1544. In the *Teppōki*, however, the father is only mentioned once together with the son, that is, when it is reported that the junk and the Portuguese have arrived. Afterwards, it is only the son, Tokitaka, who is at the centre, while the father is left out.

Historically it is of interest that the arrival of the junk with the Portuguese on board in September 1543 is registered under the chapters for both Shigetoki and Tokitaka. This was apparently an event of such magnitude that it found a place in both chronicles. It is also of interest that in the Shigetoki chronicle the father takes more part in the decisions and that most of the events are related there while less is said in the Tokitaka chronicle. This was therefore the in-between period when the father was still powerful. In the Shigetoki chronicle the arrival is in fact only reported to Shigetoki and Tokitaka is not mentioned, and it is Shigetoki who orders that the junk be hauled to Akōgi. Later in the same entry, however, it is only Tokitaka who takes an interest in the musket, acquires two of them, and orders a smith to begin copying and producing it on Tanegashima.

It should be noticed that Tokitaka decided to abdicate his title at 32 years of age. For some reason that is not related in the chronicle, he handed over the lordship to his five-year-old son, Tokitsugi, in 1560. Could it have been because he intended to go to Kyoto in the same year and wished to secure the succession within the family in case something happened during his journey to and from Kyoto? This was a time when Satsuma and Nejime were in intermittent war, and Nejime Shigenaga had certainly not forgotten how he had been deceived and lost Yakushima! Although Tokitsugi died already in 1562, he is still counted as the 15th Tanegashima lord. It goes without saying that it was the father (and grandfather) who ruled the island during Tokitsugu's two-year lordship. In the same manner, when Nejime Shigenaga invaded the island and Shigetoki handed over the island to Tokitaka, this may have been a desperate attempt to keep the island in the family's hands, a strategy that turned out to be successful.

The *Tanegashima kafu* does not say that the *teppō* was used when Yakushima Island was reconquered in January 1544. The recapture is only recounted in Shigetoki's chapter while referred to only in a parenthesis in that for Tokitaka. This could mean that it was Shigetoki who was instrumental when it was decided that the island should be reconquered, and not his 15-year-old son who was bound by an oath that he did not know had been falsified. A *teppō* or two could have been used, for example, the ones received from the Portuguese, without being mentioned in the chronicles. The Shigetoki chronicle has to be believed, however, when it says that the first *teppō* made on the island were not

perfect and that it was only after the Portuguese smith came later in 1544 that Yaita and his associate smiths learned the closing technique and some ten(s) of *teppō* were produced. This is probably a realistic and true description of the development. Pinto's statement that 600 muskets had been fabricated when they left five and a half months after their arrival must be considered one of the many fictions of his narrative. But it is an indication and evidence that the *teppō* production soon began. The *Teppōki* runs parallel with the *Tanegashima kafu*, perhaps no co-incidence, when it states that several tens of *teppō* were made in a little more than a year after they had learned the technique from the Portuguese smith. It was, then, later in 1544—after the reconquest of Yakushima Island—that the first *tanegashima teppō* was produced, and it was afterwards, perhaps in the same year, that the first ten(s) of them were fabricated. This was impressive enough and testifies to the Japanese ability to absorb novelties! It should be noted that the *Tanegashima kafu* adds a question mark when it wonders whether this was the beginning of the 'Japanese musket' (*Nippon teppō*). No question mark is found in the *Teppōki*, nor in the later *Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichi-ryū no keizu*.

Without gunpowder,—and its correct composition—the musket is a 'useless scrap of metal', as Tokitaka concludes. This was quickly understood by Lord Tokitaka, who, according to Pinto, begged Zeimoto to teach him how to make the powder at the time that he received the musket.¹³ Sasakawa Koshirō, a retainer of the Tanegashima family, was ordered to learn from the Portuguese how the gun-powder should be mixed. This man is briefly mentioned in the *Tanegashima kafu*, where it is added that the importance of gunpowder in the world cannot be overestimated. This is mentioned in the same entry where the arrival of the Portuguese is recorded, and it could therefore have taken place soon after the muskets were received. This is logical: without gunpowder the muskets received from the Portuguese were indeed 'a useless scrap of metal'. It can be imagined that he began his commission as regards gunpowder before Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada began his work on the first *teppō*. His project might also have been easier than that of the latter, should the first Portuguese have known how to mix the ingredients of the gunpowder—charcoal, sulphur and saltpetre.

An interesting entry follows afterwards in the *Tanegashima kafu*. Under the year of 1549 it is noted that an official missive was received from the emperor, that is, from the shogun in Kyoto, by the agency of the former *kanpaku*, Konoe Taneie,¹⁴ in which it is said that the emperor (the shogun) has heard about the acquisition of the method of producing an unmatched miraculous gunpowder. The missive reads in part, 'you have learned directly from the southern barbarians the way to mix the unparalleled powder for the *teppō*. This has reached the ears of the emperor (the shogun) in a *buke* secret communication. These are marvellous tidings and you are to be congratulated.... This should not be divulged to others. There will be a communication from Shimazu Shisaku (Takahisa, 1514–71). This is it. The 5th day of the 3rd month. Taneie (seal). To Lord Tanegashima Danjō no chū (Tokitaka)'.

There is no year mentioned in the imperial/shogunal missive but if the *Tanegashima kafu* is to be believed, it was received in 1549, which is plausible. However, T.Hora¹⁵ believes that since Shimazu Takahisa, the 15th Shimazu lord, did not receive the title of Shisaku until 1552, it could not have been sent before 1552. This missive shows that Tokitaka was the nominal lord of the island by 1549 (or 1552), and probably had been so

since 1543. It also shows the close connection between Satsuma and Tanegashima. In all probability, all communications between Kyoto and Tanegashima were sent via the Satsuma lords.

It is actually not until in the Genki era (1570–72) that the *Tanegashima kafu* mentions that the *teppō* was used in warfare. It is recorded that four families, the Nejime among them, engaged in piracy against the regular traffic between Tanegashima and Kagoshima, and that some 40 vessels were pillaged, among them Tokitaka's private boats and merchant ships. This is proof that there was considerable traffic between Tanegashima and Kyushu and perhaps the rest of Japan. In one encounter between a Tanegashima ship and the pirates, both sides used *teppō* besides bow and arrow, and Nejime Magojirō was hit by *teppō* fire. It is apparent that the *teppō* by this time had become part of the military arsenal, used not least by pirates, in the Tanegashima-Kagoshima area and had perhaps been so for some time. The *teppō* is otherwise not mentioned between its introduction in 1543–44 and 1570–72.

On the whole, the *Tanegashima kafu* presents a picture of the *sengoku* era, 'the Country at War' era, of Japanese history. This was the period of high feudalism. Even a small outlying island like Tanegashima was part of Japan and its lords were also involved in the warfare which enveloped the Japanese islands from east to west. It was a 'culture of war' period in which the lords unscrupulously fought each other and grabbed land on any flimsy excuse. The *Tanegashima kafu* presents several examples of how samurai forces from Tanegashima took part in the fighting on the side of Satsuma (Shimazu), for example, against Ōtomo Sōrin in Hyūga Province in 1578. Also the local warfare involving the island of Yakushima shows quite clearly how the lords of Tanegashima and Nejime were cunning and treacherous as they saw fit and always ready to use cruelty to gain their objectives. Nejime did not hesitate to use the excuse of Shigetoki's misgovernment to invade Tanegashima in March 1543. Shigetoki fled, and Tokitaka was ready to die when the castle was overrun by the Nejime forces. He was saved at the cost of Yakushima island, which was handed over with a written oath on which Tokitaka's seal was falsified. Shigetoki soon returned and already in early 1544, he and his son had reconquered the island, and the Nejime forces, who had surrendered with the promise of being sent back to Nejime, were killed when the ship was treacherously sunk. Promises were not worth much in this age when raw power was paramount. Hostilities continued also afterwards, and Nejime and other lords turned to piracy in order to disturb the traffic between Tanegashima and Kagoshima. War on land was extended to war at sea.¹⁶

On the other hand, except for the war with Nejime and incidents due to piracy, Tanegashima was not much involved in *sengoku* warfare. The war with Nejime seems to have been a parenthesis and did not involve more than some 500 men on both sides together; no other invasion of Tanegashima is mentioned. Tanegashima was never invaded again. Otherwise, the *Tanegashima kafu* only mentions the participation of Tanegashima warriors on the Satsuma side in warfare. It can be imagined that the contingents sent were small in number.¹⁷ That Tanegashima samurai also probably joined the *wakō* marauders is not mentioned in the chronicle.

Tanegashima was historically intimately connected with the rest of the country. The Tanegashima lords were of Taira descent, and the *Tanegashima kafu* begins with the first generation lord whose name was Nobumoto and who was the great-grandson of Taira no

Kiyomori. This might be a fabrication, but it gave prestige to the line of lords who belonged to one of the main warrior families of Japanese *bushi* history. In one official letter from the Bakufu, the addressee is Lord Taira Tokitaka.

That Tanegashima belonged politically to the rest of Japan is also proven by the fact that both Shigetoki and Tokitaka went to Kyoto. One can imagine that these were official visits when they were received by the Muromachi shogun and perhaps also the emperor. It is a pity that their travels are only mentioned in the short format of one sentence, stating that they went to Miyako (Kyoto). Or with one sentence when they depart and another sentence when they return. One would like to know more about the routes, the time it took, whom they met on the way to and from and in Kyoto, how they travelled, and how long they stayed there. Further, it would be interesting to know whether these visits were obligatory and had to be undertaken even by the lords of a minor island. It proves that the shogun, although powerless, was still the centre of the power structure, respected and honoured with visits by the lords of even outlying areas like Tanegashima.¹⁸

Tanegashima was also closely connected with the rest of Japan through Buddhism. Visits of Buddhist priests are meticulously registered in the *Tanegashima kafu*, both their arrivals and departures. A lively traffic seems to have taken place between the temples on the island and the main temples in the Kansai area, mostly Kyoto. That a temple, Hongenji, was rebuilt in 1563 is carefully mentioned, and that its new location was where Tokitaka had planned earlier to build his house. Buddhism was the religion of the island, perhaps more so than Shintoism, and what happened within the Buddhist establishment was more important than even the visits of foreign ships. It is apparent that it was Lotus Nichiren Buddhism that was paramount.

The visit of a Chinese ship is mentioned in 1540 in the Shigetoki chronicle. Another visit is not mentioned until 1543 when the Portuguese were on board the ship and brought the musket. Next, a *nanbansen*—probably also a Chinese junk—is mentioned in 1544; this ship brought the smith who helped in the manufacture of the first *teppō*. After that, no visits of foreign ships are mentioned under either Shigetoki or Tokitaka. There are two possibilities. Either no lively commercial traffic took place in-between and after these visits, which is hardly plausible, or regular visits of commercial ships were not found worth mentioning in the chronicle. It is cautiously concluded that there were more vessels reaching Tanegashima than are mentioned in the chronicles, but that they were not recorded when the trade was just regular and did not bring something as out-standing as some Portuguese or muskets. Or could it be that visits of ships from China or the West were as rare as reported in the chronicle? Only once is a ship from Tanegashima to China mentioned. That is in 1544. The traffic between Satsuma and Tanegashima is mentioned more often, but only when untoward incidents happened, such as when pirates hampered and struck the traffic. This is first mentioned in 1566. That the shipping between Kagoshima and Tanegashima was considerable is understood when it is mentioned once that no less than 40 ships had been lost due to pirate activities. That there was further much transit traffic and passing traffic—junks on their way north or south—is expressed in the *Teppōki*.

It is natural that the *Tanegashima kafu* concentrates on matters connected with the Tanegashima family. It was after all a family chronicle. Therefore, many matters

considered peripheral were left out which would be of interest to us in a later age. Still the chronicle is a gold mine, presenting in its totality the history of the island, not least the situation when the first Europeans, that is, the two Portuguese, reached the shores of the island and thus also of Japan. It is as close as we can come to the circumstances that met the first Western intruders.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Teppōki, the Tanegashima kafu and the Historical Setting

The *Teppōki* was written before the *Tanegashima kafu* and it can therefore be surmised that the compiler of the first version of the *Tanegashima kafu* had the *Teppōki* at hand, especially since sections in both works are similar in much of their phraseology. However, when comparing the two works in their totality, it becomes obvious that Nanpo Bunshi and Kōzuma Takanao had their sources, among which one common source ought to have been a house chronicle of the Tanegashima family which had been kept from early times and had become rather detailed by the time of the 13th lord, Shigetoki, and the 14th lord, Tokitaka. As stated above, the *Tanegashima kafu* only begins to be detailed from the chapter on the eighth lord, Kiyotoki (1362–1427), while earlier lords are mostly only mentioned by name except for the first Taira ancestor, Nobumoto, who is given a full page at the beginning of the chronicle.¹

The intent of the *Teppōki* was also different from that of the *Tanegashima kafu* and also of Galvano. In Galvano's *Descobrimentos antigos e modernos* it is, as the title says, the 'discovery' of Japan that is emphasized. The *Tanegashima kafu* was not meant to be more than a chronicle of island and family from generation to generation. In contrast, the *Teppōki* was meant to be a panegyric of the role that Tanegashima and the Tanegashima family played in the introduction of the musket, and mainly concentrates on this subject; this is also what the title alludes to. Nanpo used his Chinese and Confucian rhetoric to make a good account of this epoch-making event in the history of Japan, and it is natural that he used all available sources. Some sixty years after the event, there were still old people who could relate what they had seen, and living in close vicinity of the places where it had happened, he had certainly himself heard about what had taken place in 1543 and afterwards. He also says at the end of the account that 'there are some grey-haired people who still remember the event clearly'. Nanpo was born in 1555, only twelve years after the event, and he had therefore from early times certainly heard about the coming of the first Portuguese, not only to Tanegashima but also to Kagoshima and other places on Kyushu. His account does not at any time express any doubt about the role of Tanegashima and the Tanegashima family. It was for him a fact that had to be written down, in a literary style to boot, to be remembered by following generations.

That Nanpo, like Pinto, used a literary style and flowery oratory is perhaps only natural. He was asked to do the job by the 16th Tanegashima lord, Hisatoki, who wanted to honour his father. As a matter of course, Nanpo used all his Confucian erudition to perform the task in a grand way. Already the prologue shows that the aim of the project was the glorification of the island and its lords and the epilogue served the same objective. Moreover, Nanpo was a Zen Buddhist monk of the Rinzaï sect and, as such—as was usual within this sect—besides Buddhism he was well acquainted with the

Confucian tradition, including later Neo-Confucian thought. As can be seen, Nanpo did his utmost to use his vast Chinese knowledge to write a good account. Confucius and Lao Tzu are quoted but Buddha is not; there are references to Chinese classics but not to the Zen patriarchs and their scriptures. Whether, on the other hand, his account is written in the very best Chinese is a moot question. There are passages which are rather recondite, and which could have been written in a clearer and simpler way. As it is, one must at times interpret a sentence in the light of the context. It is Japanese Chinese, and not the Chinese that a Chinese would have written.

A couple of examples are enough to show that Nanpo did his best to enlarge on the great event. The dialogue between the local chieftain, Oribenōjō, and Gohō, the probable captain of the Chinese junk, is partly the same as in the *Tanegashima kafu*, but elaborates the subject and turns it into a lively conversation in which Gohō describes the foreigners in more detail, alluding to the fact that they do not know Confucian and Eastern propriety. The guess is that Nanpo added to the story in order to underline the fact that the visitors were indeed barbarians. This elaboration of the story is not found in the *Tanegashima kafu*, in which Gohō shortly states that ‘they are traders from among the southwestern barbarians and are not very strange’. The *Tanegashima kafu* version could well be close to what was actually written in the sand and, as the story was subsequently retold, it was extended and embellished. The Chinese flourish is even more evident when it comes to the conversation between Tokitaka and the Portuguese who introduced the musket. This dialogue is full of Confucian and Taoist rhetoric, which must have been added by Nanpo. The fifteen-year-old Tokitaka could not possibly have had the erudition to refer to and quote Lao Tzu and Confucius, and the Portuguese barbarian, probably illiterate, could certainly not have known about the Confucian concept of ‘rectifying one’s heart’. The conversation must in all probability have been short and factual and the demonstration of the weapon more important than any philosophical exposition. Tokitaka was probably told to close one eye, aim and shoot. A third example is presented at the time that Tokitaka presented the priest, Suginobō, with one musket. The allusion to ancient Chinese history, as an excuse for the presentation, is certainly added by Nanpo; Tokitaka could not at his young age have been so intimate with the Chinese classics.

In the passage about Suginobō, Tokitaka states that he has the two muskets which he has received from the Portuguese carefully hidden ‘under ten wraps’. This might be figurative speech, but he says again later that he has the muskets ‘well hidden and stored away’. This may surprise the reader at first until the realization dawns that this might be exactly the way it was done. The first muskets are repeatedly mentioned—and not only in the *Teppōki*—as ‘treasures’ and ‘hidden treasures’. This is nothing unusual in Japan, where what is rare is ‘kept in costly silk and damask bags inside rich caskets’,² and where what is valuable is the best present. The first muskets and Japanese *teppō* were perhaps such house treasures, only shown on special occasions, and used more as presents than in warfare.³ On Tanegashima, however, apparently they were not left under wraps as house treasures for long before they were used and Yaita Kinbee was asked to undertake the production of the same.⁴

Already the description of the ‘object’ (*mono*)—that is, the musket—shows that Nanpo could improve on the original source. The musket is well described, and one can imagine that he had himself both seen a musket and experienced it in action. As a result he could

describe how it was loaded, how a target was set up, how fire was applied, how the target was hit, and how ‘the explosion seemed like lightning and the sound like rolling thunder’. Then Nanpo continues with a rather ponderous philosophical discussion about this ‘object’ and about how a shot from it could break through a wall of iron and smash a mountain of silver and how it could be used in the world in innumerable ways. These were of course thoughts in retrospect, thoughts which could not have been thought at the time that the house chronicle was written soon after the actual event, but were added when the *Teppōki* was written in 1606.

If the rhetoric and the philosophy are omitted, however, in the main the *Teppōki* presents the same story as the *Tanegashima kafu*. However, there are passages that are in no way related to the *Tanegashima kafu*, and that Nanpo must have obtained from other sources. One such case is the passage about the above-mentioned Suginobō, a priest at Negoro temple in Kii, to whom Tokitaka bestowed one *teppō*. Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō brought the gun to Kii with instructions on how to use it and how to prepare gunpowder.⁵ One gets the impression that this happened soon after the arrival of the musket on Tanegashima, but it cannot have happened before the making of the *tanegashima teppō* began in earnest a year later following the arrival of the *nanbansen* in 1544. Can it be that Tokitaka, in the name of religion or friendship (or business?), handed over one of the two muskets that he had acquired in 1543? This seems too good to be true. No philosophy makes a man hand over valuables for which he has paid dearly and which are regarded as house treasures. Or could it have been a way to explain how Tanegashima was the origin and source of the Negoro *teppō* that was soon manufactured? In any case, we are left with the statement that Tokitaka, out of the goodness of his heart, handed over one musket to the monks at Negoro, where the production of the same was also soon begun. It is significant that the Negoro connection is not recorded in the *Tanegashima kafu*.

The same concerns Tachibanaya Matasaburō who stayed on Tane—gashima for some years. The *Teppōki* says that he learned to shoot the *teppō* to such perfection that later, upon returning to Sakai, he received the nickname, *Teppōmata*, ‘The *Teppō* Master’. In the *Yaitashi ichiryū no keizu* it is said that he learned the art of the *teppō* from Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada. Now, Yaita did not manage the technique himself until the arrival of the ship to Kumano in 1544, and Tachibanaya could therefore not have learned the art until afterwards. It would have been of great interest to have one or several exact dates. It is said that the *teppō* was introduced and manufactured early at Sakai, as early as 1544. If the Tanegashima thesis holds water, it would be logical to propose late 1544 for the first Sakai *teppō*. Or could this be another case when the early existence of muskets at another important location was explained as connected with the *first teppō* on Tanegashima? Tachibanaya Matasaburō is not mentioned in the *Tanegashima kafu*.⁶

Even more mysterious is the story about a third man, Matsushita Gorōsaburō, mentioned in connection with the diffusion of the *teppō* from Tanegashima to the east of Japan. He is supposed to have been a member of a commercial enterprise in 1542–43 when three ships sailed from central Kansai Japan to China. They anchored first at Tanegashima, waiting for good sailing weather. At that time, the Tanegashima retainer Matsushita Gorōsaburō joined the expedition and he was on the ship when it subsequently reached Ning-po in China. On the way back, the ship met with a storm and was driven to Izu peninsula in the east. Matsushita carried a *teppō*, and people in the east

copied it and learned to use it. The *Teppōki* concludes that ‘afterwards, there was not a place in the eastern provinces and along the shores of our land to which the *teppō* was not brought and where they did not learn to use it’. This story—which is not found in the *Tanegashima kafu*—seems likewise to have been added to explain why and how the *teppō* spread from Tanegashima to eastern Japan. It presents many interesting facts that shed light on the commercial traffic between Japan and China in Muromachi times and need not be wholly fictitious, since there were official and private trade relations with Ming China in those times, as shall be described below (from page 80),⁷ but in the *Teppōki* it seems to be consciously added to prove that Tanegashima was the source of the musketry *all over Japan*.

These three—Suginobō, the priest from Kii, Tachibanaya, the merchant from Sakai, and Matsushita, the Tanegashima retainer—are mentioned in the *Teppōki* as the intermediaries when the *teppō* was introduced around Japan with Tanegashima as the starting point. The accounts of all three of them, especially the last among them, must be taken with a grain of salt, so too the whole tradition that was built up around Tanegashima and the introduction of the musket. Still it can be taken as a simile of how, on the whole, the *teppō* conquered Japan, spreading like a folding fan from West to East. The process was of course more complicated, and the dialectic beginning on Tanegashima until practically every lord and daimyo had this new weapon in his military storehouse will never be fully unravelled. That Tanegashima represented the starting-point and the beginning of the manufacture of the *teppō*, even though questioned, must be accepted. Until other possible avenues of the diffusion are revealed, the tradition as given in the *Teppōki* may be taken for what it is, a folkloric story which in simple form expresses what took place. It should be noticed that the *Teppōki* gives no dates, and that therefore the transmission of the weapon could have taken place over a period of years and the mastery of the manufacturing process over an even longer span of years. It does not seem logical that the dissemination of the musket, its technique and the production of both weapon and gunpowder could have taken place in such short order when considering communication, resources and lack of know how. One may also wonder why none of the three intermediaries are mentioned in the *Tanegashima kafu*.

Japanese scholars are not united in their views on the *Teppōki* and its account of the transmission of the *teppō* to Japan. K.Naganuma, for example, is directly suspicious and presents references to the existence of guns in Japan prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. He finds the *Teppōki* presentation too clinically neat and simple to be trusted.⁸ T.Hora cautiously defends the *Teppōki*, for the reason that Tanegashima was a meeting place for commercial shipping to and from China and East Asia generally.⁹ There upon, T.Nishimura vehemently stands up for the *Teppōki* and its assumption that the *teppō* arrived at Tanegashima first. He refers to K.Tsuboi and others in support of the Tanegashima thesis.¹⁰ Finally, T.Udagawa, with support from S. Arima, presents the weak points in Naganuma's assumptions.¹¹

It is surprising that there is no mention of the spread of the *teppō* in the Kyushu area in either the *Teppōki* or the *Tanegashima kafu*. It is natural that the weapon itself and its production quickly reached Kagoshima since the Tanegashima lords acknowledged the Shimazu daimyo as their feudal superiors. It is a moot point, however, if the *teppō* reached both Bungo and Hirado independantly or via Tanegashima. We hear of early

Portuguese traffic to both of these places, not least because the two daimyo, Ōtomo Sōrin in Bungo and Matsura Takanobu (1529–99) in Hirado, quickly understood the importance of the Western connection and welcomed the Portuguese. Not least Bungo became popular with the Portuguese and we hear about Portuguese who lived there for years.¹² The same seems to have been the situation at Hirado where Portuguese ships arrived from 1550. Xavier visited both places and was well received and Pinto came to Bungo on all four alleged visits. They were daimiates where the Portuguese were most successful—both as merchants and as missionaries.

One finds in Japanese literature various earlier dates for the introduction of the musket—1501, 1510, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1542, 1543 and other dates. Even such early dates as 1466 and 1468 are mentioned.¹³ One can perhaps speak of the pre-Tanegashima (1543) *teppō* and the post-Tanegashima *teppō*. There is apparently a *teppō* tradition that begins with the Mongols and their second invasion of Kyushu 1281, as seen in the *Mōko-shūrai-ekotoba*, the picture scroll from 1293. This scroll makes it apparent, however, that the early ‘teppō’ was a kind of bombard, explosive or granate. It certainly did not come from a barrel. All other pre-Tanegashima *teppō* were possibly likewise explosives, probably not emanating from a tube or barrel.

The earliest dates, 1501 and 1510, mentioned in the *Kunitomo teppōki*, however, can immediately be discarded because the early dates in this work are generally unreliable (see page 140 below).¹⁴ Other dates (1466, 1468, 1537, 1539, 1540 and 1542) cannot be verified. Much literature is of a later Tokugawa age and is not to be trusted. The date 1539, for example, found in the *Kunitomo teppōki*, is an obvious miswriting of 1543; month and day, on the other hand, fit the dates in the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*.¹⁵

It is possible that some kind of firearm had reached Asian countries—for example, via the Ottoman Empire—before the arrival of the Portuguese. D’Albuquerque is said to have captured 3,000 fire-arms when he conquered Malacca in 1511. They are not specified. It is not likely, however, that any sort of firearm had reached beyond Malacca by that time. In the following Portuguese expansion, China was reached in 1513–14,¹⁶ and it is from about this time that *wakō* corsairs possibly encountered Portuguese aboard Chinese junks who introduced the new weapon, just as it happened later at Tanegashima. In the pirate-infested waters beyond Malacca the musket must have been the prerequisite of any Portuguese on his way along the Chinese coast, the best defence against attack not least because it could be used at a distance. The musket, not to mention the cannon, must have been a nasty experience for the pirates and it cannot have taken long for them to understand that they needed these new weapons.

The Ryukyu merchants who are said to have been at Malacca when the Portuguese conquered the place in 1511, must also have been aware that the Portuguese brought a new weapon with them. Were they so frightened by it that they stopped approaching Malacca afterwards, as is said? In their trade endeavours to Siam and South east Asia generally they must also afterwards have noticed the new weapon. It seems, however, that they never took an interest in the weapon and we do not hear of any *teppō* made on the Ryukyu Islands.

If we are to believe Pinto, Chinese pirates were equipped with both firearms and cannon by 1540.¹⁷ A corsair-merchant like Wang Chih (Gohō) ought therefore to have

known about the musket long before the day that his junk drifted to Cape Kadokura. He could not have been blind to the fact that two of his passengers carried muskets. Furthermore, if he knew about the musket, he must also have known about the gunpowder. It is, however, uncertain whether he had visited Japan earlier.¹⁸ Even if, however, the musket was introduced to Japan at some other place and that, for example, the *wakō* corsairs were confronted with it earlier, the technique and the manufacture of the musket was probably first mastered on Tanegashima as was also the correct mixture of gunpowder. We can probably *in fine* agree with S.R. Turnbull that ‘the weapons brought by the Portuguese were undoubtedly the first real “firearms” that had ever reached Japan’.¹⁹

A moot point in Nanpo’s story is the commercial expedition to China which is mentioned to have taken place between 1542 and 1543. As already noted above, there is no mention of such an expedition in the *Tanegashima kafu*. If it had been an undertaking of such magnitude, three ships with 1000 men on board, including one man from Tanegashima, one would expect it to be noted in the house chronicle. If they left in 1542 or early 1543, it would mean that they had left before the Portuguese arrived, and that Matsushita Gorōsaburō had learned to shoot a musket earlier at some other place than Tanegashima. Let us, for the time being, be suspicious of the dates and regard the account as built on hearsay and semifictive, serving as a background legend for how the *teppō* reached the eastern provinces of Japan and how a man from Tanegashima taught the eastern Japanese the art of the *teppō*.

It remains to be said that the *Teppōki* was written in 1606 at the time when the musket was at the height of its influence and popularity at the beginning of Tokugawa times. This was between Sekigahara in 1600 and the Osaka Campaign 1614–15 when Tokugawa Ieyasu took a keen interest in both musket and cannon. Such a eulogy to the *teppō* would hardly have been written some decades later, nor some decades earlier.

TRADE AND PIRACY

We discern from the *Teppōki*, the *Tanegashima kafu* and other records that both domestic and overseas commerce flourished in Muromachi times. Trade was both legal and illegal, official and private. First there was semi-official trade with China at the beginning of Muromachi and then followed official trade from the beginning of the fifteenth century. This was the so-called *kangō* exchange trade (*kangōbōeki*)²⁰ in which subordinate nations brought ‘tribute’ to the Son of Heaven and received ‘presents’ in return. This was trade in disguise and it required the acceptance of the supremacy of China as the Central Empire of Heaven. The Muromachi regime first accepted this system under the third shogun, Yoshimitsu (1358–1408, r. 1367–95), and over a ten-year period from 1404 not less than six missions and 43 ships visited China under the shogunal aegis. This trade was discontinued under the fourth shogun, Yoshimochi (1386–1428, r. 1395–1423) but was resumed under the sixth shogun, Yoshinori (1394–1441, r. 1428–41), and we find eleven missions between 1432 and 1547. These, however, were no longer under just shogunal protection; now, also temples and shrines, leading daimyo and others sponsored ships for the missions. In the end it was the Hosokawa and Ōuchi that competed in organizing the

missions and their harbours, Sakai and Hakata, flourished accordingly (see Map 3).²¹ The last mission was sent by the Ōuchi. The port of entry of all missions was Ning-po from where the capital Peking was within reach.

Incidents occurred time and again at Ning-po from the 1520s onwards, however. These and the *wakō* piracy eventually brought an end to the *kangō* trade by 1551. Thereafter Chinese doors were firmly closed to the Japanese for the remainder of the Ming era.²² This rupture of relations may be compared to a national disaster. The growth of the money economy, coinciding with the development of commercial towns and urban centres, needed currency and since Japan did not mint its own official currency until 1587, it had to rely on Chinese copper coins. In this newly developed economy barter was not sufficient, and it was a matter of necessity to allow *kangō* tribute trade to procure the desired copper currency.²³

Furthermore, there was private trade together with the missions and independent of the missions and further lively local trade with both Korea and the Ryukyu Islands which also helped to bring in copper cash.²⁴ When official trade came to an end, the private trade took over and became predominant. When then private trade was also forbidden, smuggling developed, in turn deteriorating into piracy and *wakō* raids; trade turned into pillage and plunder along the Chinese coast. It can be imagined that copper cash was high on the list among the articles of value sought by the *wakō*. Currency therefore reached the Japanese islands along various routes, and the *wakō* raids was but one among them. Understandably, we hear little or nothing about this 'commerce' in early Japanese sources. The *wakō* never obtained an aura of renown like the Vikings in the Scandinavian countries.²⁵

If the commercial expedition mentioned in the *Teppōki* belonged among the *kangō* missions, the dates do not fit either of the two last missions, which left in 1539 and 1547 respectively. The first, comprising three ships, sailed from Yamaguchi and never came close to Tanegashima. The second, also from Yamaguchi and comprising four ships, likewise never approached Tanegashima.²⁶ No mission is mentioned between these last two missions. This leaves the possibility that it was a private undertaking, originating from Sakai and central Japan with which Tanegashima had close relations.²⁷ In the *Tanegashima kafu* it is laconically mentioned that a ship named *Nigōsen* left for China in 1544 and it is equally laconically mentioned that it returned in 1545. *Nigōsen* should mean that it was the Number Two Ship of an official *kangō* mission, but, as said, no such mission is mentioned in those years. It might have been a private endeavour—of 'free trade'—in cooperation with Satsuma, which perhaps sent the Number One Ship (*Ichigōsen*).²⁸ But perhaps we should not be so critical as regards the date of the expedition mentioned in the *Teppōki*. What it evinces is that such commercial endeavours took place and that Nanpo's informant had heard about them and that his memory failed him. It has again to be remembered that the *Teppōki* was written to glorify Tanegashima (Tokitaka) and should therefore not always be considered a reliable historical source.

It is easily imagined that Tanegashima participated in the piracy in Chinese waters in these centuries. Since such raids were supported and even sponsored by the daimyo of Satsuma in those days when piracy along the Chinese coast was at its height, we can be convinced that Tanegashima samurai also came along.²⁹ These sea raids can be likened to the earlier Viking onslaughts on Europe and it might have been considered manly and

worthy of a samurai to participate—just as it was among the Vikings. If the motto of the Vikings was ‘to kill and to rob’, so too was it the motto of the *wakō*. The Japanese vikings were often organized by the daimyo of Kyushu, Shikoku and the Inland Sea region, and ‘and their manners were rude, their lives loose, their thoughts low, their tempers hot, and their strength great, while they all suspected and were jealous of one another’.³⁰ Even Anjiro, Japan’s first Christian, was apparently inveigled into participating in this ‘lucrative trade’ only to be killed during such a raid.³¹ Finally, it can be asked whether the *wakō* were always the ruthless raiders as depicted in Chinese sources. Like the Vikings in Northern Europe they were perhaps often just peaceful traders who burned and plundered when normal trade was not allowed. As is said philosophically in a Chinese source, ‘The robbers and the merchants are the same men. When the market is open and trade is allowed, the robbers change into merchants; when the market is closed and trade is not allowed, the merchants change into robbers’.³²

A distinction should, then, perhaps be made between downright piracy as it has existed in Far Eastern waters until this day and *wakō* piracy which grew out of trade difficulties. The line between the two activities is of course thin but, in all probability, the *wakō* raids would not have developed if free trade had prevailed. Much crime develops also in our day when state regulations turn harsh.

Would it be to go too far to suggest that the three ships mentioned in the *Teppōki* were as much on their way to illicit as to licit activities? And that the one thousand merchants on board were as much samurai warriors ready to use their swords as merchants ready to buy and sell? As C.R.Boxer writes, ‘Raiding the China coast was a favourite occupation of many of the *samurai* from southwest Japan, who behaved as pirates or as traders as the occasion offered’.³³ The *Fukien Gazetteer* says, ‘The Japanese robbed with violence and at once realized their ambitions; there was nothing which they hesitated to do. They followed closely on each other, and started all sorts of trouble on the sea’.³⁴ As for Satsuma’s participation in the *wakō* raids, consider the following quotation from a letter by Luís Frois from Malacca on 1 December 1555:

Last year we learnt from ships that came here from China that there were very great quarrels and disputes between China and Japan. A great fleet from Camgoxima [Kagoshima] had destroyed many places in China which were situated along the sea coast, including a very populous city where the Japanese had wrought great destruction and captured some very great lords who were in it. They say that these wars are so fierce that they will not be appeased for many years...³⁵

The Chinese had thus all reason to fear the Japanese and they warned the Portuguese against harbouring Japanese and keeping them as slaves, ‘oblivious of the fact that they reared tigers’.³⁶ The Portuguese were ordered to deport all Japanese at Macao and it was ordained that no more Japanese should be allowed into the colony. This was easily forgotten because the Japanese were the best auxiliary forces the Portuguese had throughout their Eastern empire—for the simple reason they fought like tigers and were considered invincible. It seems also that the Portuguese worked well together with the Japanese, more so than with the Spaniards and the Dutch who mistrusted their bellicosity.

A Dutch commander wrote (about 1615) that 'they are a rough and fearless people, lambs in their own country, but well-nigh devils outside of it'.³⁷

It should not be ignored that also normal commercial traffic took place between Tanegashima, Ryukyu and China both before and after the arrival of the Portuguese. A visit of a Chinese ship is recorded for the year 1540 in the Shigetoki chronicle, as is a ship for China for the year 1544 and its return in the following year. Independent trade contacts existed between Tanegashima and the Ryukyu Islands and presents were exchanged as late as 1556. Tanegashima was moreover known for its shipbuilding. In the *Tanegashima kifu* it is mentioned in the chronicle of Tadatoki, the 12th Tanegashima lord and Tokitaka's grandfather, that an emissary from Shogun Yoshikatsu,³⁸ Izumo no kami, visited the island and that the visit concerned the construction of ships for the China traffic (*totōsen*). This is under the year 1520 in the *Tanegashima kifu* and we learn in the same chronicle that a shipment from Ryukyu arrives in the following year. This makes us understand that commercial traffic between Tanegashima and the Ryukyu Islands extended to China and other lands long before the Portuguese arrived. The Ryukyu Islands were a free kingdom centrally placed in the East Asian trading region and their ships operated widely overseas in the fifteenth century.³⁹ These islands had no compunction in being a tributary nation to China, sending on an average one tribute mission per year (since 1372),⁴⁰ and at the same time cultivating good relations with Japan, profiting financially from both relationships.⁴¹ The Ryukyu and Tanegashima seem also to have treated each other as equals and presents were sent and received. Such close relations seem also to have been continued after the Ryukyu came under Satsuma control.

When the Chinese merchants were forbidden to take part in international trade by the mid-fifteenth century, the Ryukyu merchants expanded their operations and their commercial ships operated throughout Southeast Asia. As it were, they took over the Chinese rôle of being the merchant nation of the East, and the strange situation developed that commodities desired by the Chinese had to come via triangular trade, that is, goods coming to the Ryukyu Islands were re-exported to China, besides being sent with the regular tribute missions.⁴²

When China thus turned isolationist and further banned Japanese missions to its ports, the result was that goods which had formerly flowed from Southeast Asia to China and via China to Japan were routed through a trade avenue which went from Southeast Asia to the Ryukyu Islands and extended from there to Japan, China and Korea. The Ryukyuan themselves had not many commodities to offer. They acted as intermediaries both commercially and—when the political situation was frozen between the China and Japan—also diplomatically. The products listed are swords, silver and lacquer ware from Japan; silks, gold and porcelain from China; cottons and Buddhist scriptures from Korea; and spices from the South.⁴³ As such, the appearance of Ryukyuan junks in Japanese harbours must have been a normal occurrence happening yearly at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Even if the Ryukyuan trade was dominant, Japanese merchant ships began also gradually to call at ports to the south and Chinese merchants, defying the strict ban on trade with the Japanese, secretly frequented ports in Japan. This was the situation at about the time when the Portuguese arrived in Malacca in 1509 and reached Tanegashima in 1543. Soon the Portuguese would enter this complicated commercial

arena and and participate in the competing trade of the second half of the sixteenth century. Reading Pinto's *Peregrinação*, one meets junks all along the coast of China, where smuggling, plunder and warfare seemed to be as common as regular trade.⁴⁵ It remains to be added that the foreign trading was always only a fraction of the domestic Chinese commerce and mostly concerned luxury goods, such as ivory and spices.

The Portuguese despatched expeditions in every direction and they became soon aware of the islands to the East as they penetrated swiftly north along the Chinese coast from 1513 onwards.⁴⁶ Their curiosity was aroused and attempts were made already in 1518 to find 'the land of the *Lequeos*', the islands from where they understood that the Gores merchants came. Jorge Mascarenhas was sent in this year on a reconnaissance voyage to find these islands but he was detained by contrary wind off the Chinese coast. As this and other attempts did not succeed, the islands together with Tanegashima and Japan remained a *terra incognita* in the 1520s and 1530s when the Ming edict against free trade with foreign countries came into force and 'foreigners with beards and big eyes were not allowed to enter China'. The Portuguese turned to smuggling along the Chinese coast and reached Ning-po further north by 1529.⁴⁷ By 1540 new attempts were made, but it seems that also the Ryukyans did everything they could to keep their islands and their commercial empire a secret. Diogo de Freitas told Garcia de Escalante that 'they never would tell him where their country was situated'.⁴⁸ They may well have judged correctly: when their Pandora's Box was opened with the arrival of the Portuguese, it contributed to the end of their commercial supremacy in the lands of the North and South China Seas.⁴⁹ By that time, however, it is apparent that the Ryukyans had already lost much of the economic dominance they had enjoyed earlier in the sixteenth century. In part at least this decline was due to piracy.⁵⁰ The Ryukyans had thrived under orderly official commerce and had had their ascendancy about the time when the Portuguese arrived in eastern waters; they fared far worse in the times that followed with its unscrupulous private competition. Their commercial visits to the 'lands in the South' became rare later in the sixteenth century and are not registered in Portuguese sources.

Until the Ōnin Civil War (1467–77) commercial trading had been undertaken by the shogunate, by the great Zen monasteries like Tenryūji and by leading daimyo, mostly emanating from Kyoto.⁵¹ However, a mission could also include ships from the West. For example, in the mission of 1451, comprising ten ships, Ship Number Five (*Gogōsen*) came from the Shimazu of Satsuma, Ship Number Six (*Rokugōsen*) was sponsored by the Ōtomo of Bungo and Ship Number Seven (*Shichigōsen*) by the Ōuchi of Yamaguchi.⁵² After the Ōnin Civil War and the decline of shogunal power, however, the powerful daimyo in the West—the Ōtomo, Ōuchi and Shimazu families plus other daimyo—side by side with merchants of Hakata and Sakai were thriving on independent trade relations with the Ryukyu Islands, China and Korea and perhaps countries further south.⁵³ These trade activities were probably such ordinary undertakings by the time the Portuguese arrived that they were only rarely noted in the chronicles.

When, due to the piratical incursions along the Chinese coast from the Liaotung peninsula in the north to the Hainan Island in the south, the Ming emperors forbade all commercial intercourse with Japan on pain of death from about 1480 and thereupon forbade all free trade with foreign countries in 1530, the western daimyo encouraged and even patronized smuggling trade and piracy. In all these ventures it would not be wrong

to assume that Tanegashima participated on the Satsuma side.⁵⁴ The Chinese speak about 'the great piracy of the Chia-ching (Jpn. Kasei) era (1522–66)',⁵⁵ and a full invasion from around 1552 when the raids increased in scope and ferocity and the raiding forces rose to about one hundred thousand men according to the Chinese reports. This might be an exaggeration but it was no small number of warriors that Wang Chih mustered in this and the following years. With the successes the numbers of *wakō* escalated, and we hear for example of fifteen ships with reinforcements from Japan at a single time in 1553.⁵⁶ It also happened that Portuguese joined with pirates in raiding the Chinese coast.⁵⁷ Practically all we know about the piracy comes from Chinese sources but 'the paucity of Japanese sources on the *wakō* activities is not surprising, for it is understandable that there was a reluctance to recount their buccaneering'.⁵⁸ There are, however, a number of modern Japanese works on *wakō* piracy.⁵⁹

Around the same time—from 1520 to 1550—the illegal trade developed along the maritime provinces of China. This trade was open to any merchant-adventurer before the mid-1550s—Pinto being one among them—'but this state of affairs did not last very long...The heavy hand of bureaucracy speedily had a finger in this rich pie... By 1550 it was organized on a monopolistic basis in accordance with the economic and political ideas of the time'.⁶⁰

'The Portuguese commercial prosperity in the China Sea was due principally to the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty having previously prohibited all trade and intercourse between their subjects and the Japanese, owing to the frequent piratical attacks made by the latter on the China Coast'.⁶¹ A Captain Major (Capitão-Mór) was appointed for each Japan voyage by the King of Portugal. He was the commander of the *não de prata* ('Great Ship' or 'silver carrack') and had full jurisdiction over his countrymen in Japan during the stay there. We hear about the Captain Major from before 1550 but notably after the traffic began between Lampacao and Hirado in 1555.⁶² Then followed the trade between Macao and mostly Hirado from 1557 which was followed by the route between Macao and Nagasaki in 1571.⁶³ 'After this date the trade of the Portuguese with Japan was limited to that between these two ports'.⁶⁴ This lucrative traffic lasted until 1639 and brought prosperity to both cities. Since direct trade was suspended between China and Japan at the time and Japanese ships were not often visiting foreign ports, Portuguese ships monopolized trade—silk and gold to and silver and copper from Japan—and maintained a profit rate of 70–80 per cent or more.⁶⁵ This was therefore the golden age for the Portuguese commerce in the East when a Captain Major only needed a single voyage to be rich.⁶⁶ The commercial route went from Goa via Malacca and Macao to Nagasaki and the round journey from Goa and back to Goa required not less than three years.⁶⁷ The situation became complicated at the beginning of the seventeenth century when the Dutch and the English entered the East Asian arena.

It was perhaps because of the ravages of the *wakō* 'dwarf robbers',⁶⁸ which increased by the year, that the Chinese were willing to renew contacts with the Portuguese by 1553. These led to normal relations and to the acquisition of Macao by 1557. The Portuguese were in the end a lesser evil than the *wakō* emanating from Japan. This is corroborated by Luís Frois who said in a letter dated 1 December 1555: This discord between China and Japan is a great help to the Portuguese who want to go to Japan; for as the Chinese do not go thither to trade with their merchandise, the Portuguese merchants have a great

advantage in negotiating their worldly business'.⁶⁹ It is also indicated that the Portuguese assisted the Chinese in combatting the pirates. The awkward situation thus arose that 'the Chinese could only trade officially with their Japanese neighbours through the medium of the Portuguese'.⁷⁰

It must have dawned upon the Chinese authorities that they had much to gain from legalized commerce with the Portuguese, not least through ground rent, customs dues and bribes in the form of presents. Pinto states that 'the mandarins of Kuangtung, at the request of the local merchants, gave us the port of Macao, where the trade is carried on today' (1557). There is also an indication that the Kuangtung local officials bestowed Macao upon the Portuguese as a reward for their assistance in the suppression of the *wakō* pirates.⁷¹ With the normalization of trade from 1555, the Portuguese could move first to Lampacao and then to permanent quarters at Macao in 1557 without being afraid of being imprisoned, tortured and dispatched; the hiatus of 30 years of secret commerce was over. The subsequent rapid rise of Macao would be followed by the enclave's equally rapid decline in the next century.⁷²

Further, the Chinese were never stopped in their trade activities and in their ventures abroad. Their commerce stretched across the eastern world in spite of the Ming prohibition; the ban simply could not be enforced. These trading—or should we rather speak about smuggling—activities thrived so well that overseas Chinese communities were established in the main ports of call in Southeast Asia. Moreover, Chinatowns (*tōjin-machi*) germinated also in cities on Kyushu—for example, Hakata—in defiance of the strict ban of the Ming emperors on all commerce between Chinese and Japanese. Pinto reports how the Kyushu area was inundated with Chinese ships in 1546. Not less than 2,000 ships had sailed from China to Japan in that year and the number of 1,946 of them had foundered in a storm.⁷³ This is of course a gross exaggeration, but it is an indication of extensive Chinese trade in Japan. If we are to believe Pinto, the Portuguese had much respect for the Chinese business acumen. In contrast to the Japanese in China, the Chinese merchants seem to have kept to conventional trade in Japan. Their only objective was profit. The merchants gave no thought to whether China was the Celestial Central Kingdom and whether the surrounding peoples were barbarians.⁷⁴ For them, gain was more important than national pride. The proscription from the emperor forbidding trade and travel abroad was therefore largely ignored.

C.R.Boxer mentions that the earliest meeting between Japanese and Westerners (Portuguese) could have taken place as early as 1511. When Afonso d'Albuquerque (1460?–1515) conquered Malacca in this year, he met with merchants from the North who are referred to as Gores in the *Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalboquerque*, written and published by his son Braz d'Albuquerque (1500–80) in 1576.⁷⁵ Now, it has been discussed whether they were Ryukyuan, Koreans or Japanese, but the description of both the Gores and their homeland could well be the first mention of the Japanese and Japan, that is, after Marco Polo. The description is based on hearsay information—just like that of Marco Polo—but it fits the Japanese reality as much as the Ryukyuan reality. And no wonder: There are inseparable similarities between the Ryukyu and Japanese Islands! The Ryukyuan and the Japanese are close in race and language, and cultural affinity can be traced from pre-historical times. And Tanegashima was the island where Yamato culture from the North linked with Ryukyuan culture from the South. Like the

Kuroshio Current, culture flowed in along the long chain of southern islands and via Tanegashima reached Japan proper; the *teppō* was only one of these articles; the rice plant had probably come the same way in Yayoi times.⁷⁶

In historical times there were commercial contacts from at least the twelfth century and during the Muromachi era the trade was lively between Satsuma and Ryukyu and indirectly with China. Bōnotsu, a port in southern Satsuma, was a favoured port of entry for the Ryukyuan ships. It seems that already in late Muromachi times Satsuma strove for and secured a monopoly on the Japanese trade with the Ryukyu Islands. On the cultural side in the same era, it need only be mentioned that the Ryukyuan accepted the mixed *kanji* and *kana* script, the so-called *kana-majiribun*, in the fifteenth century. Any description of the Gores could therefore easily include the Japanese. These *Commentarios*, in part based on Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental*, precede Pinto's *Peregrinação*, but are closer to the truth than Pinto's later, partially fictive narration.⁷⁷

It is stated in the *Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalboquerque* that the Gores sail for Malacca *each year with two or three ships*.⁷⁸ When we posit that the Gores were Ryukyuan with direct connection with Japan via Tanegashima, it would mean that there were regular commercial contacts with Malacca and Southeast Asia at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the network of mercantile activities in this century there were besides the Ryukyuan ships also ships from Japan that went mostly to Ning-po in China.⁷⁹ In either of these activities Tanegashima was fortunately located as the northernmost extension in the string of Ryukyu Islands and the southernmost island of Japan proper. The three ships mentioned in the *Teppōki* were Japanese merchantmen on their journey to China and reported for the reason that they met with problems.⁸⁰

The ships, usually three in number, are listed in the literature. Because of the tension between the daimyo along the Inland Sea and fear of piracy, they began to sail east of Shikoku on their way south. Consequently they naturally approached Tanegashima and might have had to wait for months for a fair wind to proceed to China. The passage in the *Teppōki*, therefore, need not be imaginary. What can, again, be discussed are the dates and the presence of the musketeer Matsushita Gorōsaburō.⁸¹

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSKET WARFARE IN JAPAN

It was only after the import and production of muskets had increased, gunpowder became available and musketeers were trained, that muskets were first used as an auxiliary weapon in the 1550s, gradually more so in the 1560s and later as a main weapon in the 1570s.⁸² As late as 1566 the Jesuit priest, Francisco Cabral, reported that a daimyo borrowed muskets from the Portuguese to be used in current warfare.⁸³ This is logical. The whole apparatus surrounding the new weapon must have taken decades rather than years to be built up, and to bring it into general military strategy must have taken as long or longer. But suddenly, however, by the beginning of the 1570s we hear about *teppō* detachments of thousands of musketeers and about a new strategy in which the *teppō* is the main weapon used in rotating alternation—one line shooting while the other loading. About the same time we hear about cannon being used in besieging and defending castles and strongholds. Most important of all, the concentration of *teppō* turns from the Kyushu

to the Kansai area. If the 1550s and perhaps also the 1560s had been the Kyushu years, from the beginning of the 1570s it was Kansai that stood for the *teppō* superiority, and it was from there that the unified new Japan would come into being. The first who seems to have understood the superiority of the new weapon was Oda Nobunaga. Having applied the ‘mass and not dribbles’ theory of weaponry and built the consequent strategy and tactics, he was the natural winner. His strategy led to Hideyoshi (1536–98) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the final unifiers of Japan. The new weapon had reached maturity and eventually changed Japanese history. A new weapon meant all the difference.

The supply of iron was possibly a bottleneck that hampered the development of the *teppō* manufacture. The Japanese iron was, to start with, not sufficient and not always of the quality required. The sand iron produced at several locations was not enough. Large-scale importation of iron from Siam and India helped to fill this gap until the domestic production had caught up with the demand. Imported *nanbantetsu* played a role into the seventeenth century.

It was at Nagashino in 1575 (see Map 4) that the *teppō* was for the first time fully incorporated into the strategy of a battle and turned out to be the decisive weapon.⁸⁴ Beginning here, the musket was no longer just a supplementary but the primary weapon, while the bow and arrow and even the lance became secondary weapons and cavalry was replaced by infantry. It is also apparent that the potential of the new weapon was quickly understood by others in this age of constant civil strife. When Shogun Yoshiteru asked for and received muskets from Tanegashima, Satsuma, Bungo, Kunitomo and perhaps other places, it was not only as a collector of house treasures.⁸⁵ And when he asked Lord Tokitaka via Satsuma about the prescription of the superior gunpowder they had learned to mix from the Portuguese, it was certainly not in order to store it away. It should, however, be noted, as said above, that it is not until 1572–74 that the *teppō* is mentioned in the *Tanegashima kafu* in a battle with pirates, and then it is used by both sides.⁸⁶ When it is said that Shimazu Takahisa used the musket in warfare already in 1549, it is possible but it must have been on a modest scale. The same can be said about the mention that the *teppō* was used in the fighting between the Hosokawa and the Miyoshi in Kyoto in 1550,⁸⁷ and that Oda Nobunaga used it in battle in 1553. It is natural that the daimyo took an interest in the new weapon in this ‘culture of war’ era. Takeda Shingen is supposed to have purchased 300 muskets in 1555 and to have stated in 1569 in an address to his commanders that ‘here after guns will be the most important weapons’.⁸⁸ Uesugi Kenshin (1530–78) learned about how to make gunpowder when visiting Kyoto in 1559 and Hōjō Ujiyasu (1515–70) invited smiths to come to Odawara from Sakai and Negoro.⁸⁹ It was not until around 1565 that the musket was utilized more generally in warfare by the daimyo on Kyushu. It differed, of course, from daimyo to daimyo, but it seems that the daimyo who were close to where the muskets were produced or imported were the first to have them. An interesting question is whether the *teppō* were applied first in conflicts among the daimyo in the central provinces of the Kinai area, or among the daimyo on Kyushu.⁹⁰ A guess is that the new weapon spread from west to east, and that Satsuma had it and used it first. Perhaps the Battle of Anegawa in 1570 (see Map 4) was where the musket played an important role for the first time in the Kansai area. Mass production must have followed, probably not earlier than at the beginning of the 1570s, and then in

central Kansai Japan.⁹¹

Probably the *wakō* pirates were the first Japanese to utilize the firearm in combat. Wang Chih, the pirate chief, had muskets, perhaps even cannon, applied to his fleet of ships by 1554. It is reported that the new weapon(s) played havoc with the Chinese. It is probable that Wang Chih who had by that time his base on the Gotō Islands, acquired the muskets and possibly cannon from the foundries on Kyushu. The smiths at Hirado had the capacity to manufacture muskets and Wang Chih had the money to pay for them.⁹² The Chinese understood quickly that they had also to apply the new weaponry, and it is not difficult to imagine that it was the Portuguese merchants who gave them a helping hand and speedily furnished the Chinese coastguard fleet with both muskets and cannon. It is significant that this coincided with the better relations between the Chinese and the Portuguese. 1554 is the earliest known date for when the firearm was first used in Eastern naval warfare. In China Sea piracy, however, the musket must have been known very soon after the Portuguese arrived there. We hear about Portuguese joining the pirate fleets and we cannot imagine any Portuguese adventurer without a musket. By 1548 guns and even cannon are mentioned in Chinese reports about pirates' arms and it may be imagined that they had been used earlier in piratical warfare.⁹³

Both the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* state that two muskets were obtained by Tokitaka from the Portuguese. Reading Pinto, one finds, on the other hand, that only one musket was given as a present. Now it is hardly credible that Murashukusha carried more than one musket with him, but there were probably more muskets on board the junk to be sold for a good price. It ought again to be the two Japanese sources which should be believed and not Pinto who after all told fibs.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MUSKET

It must have been the introduction of the musket that changed the power equilibrium on Kyushu, as in Japan as a whole. The time around 1543 when the Portuguese and musket arrived, was a dark age for Satsuma, when the province was fractured and the Shimazu family was engaged in intermittent hostilities with enemies both within the province and with the surrounding provinces of Ōsumi, Hyūga and Higo.⁹⁴ The Shimazu family was also divided within itself. The *shugo daimyō* title was mostly in name only. In the 1550s we find, however, that the Shimazu family began to reassert itself, first under Tadayoshi (Lord Nisshin, 1492–1568) and his son Takahisa (1514–71) and then under the latter's four sons, Yoshihisa (1533–1611), Yoshihiro (1535–1619), Toshihisa (d. 1592) and Iehisa (d. 1587?). In the 1550s, 1560s and 1570s they managed to reunite not only Satsuma but also to conquer most of Ōsumi (1556?)⁹⁵ and Hyūga (1578), and by the mid-1580s they had subdued the greater part of Kyushu with the final aim to unify all of Kyushu under Satsuma.

It was only Bungo that was not under their sway. After the disastrous battle at Mimikawa in 1578, Bungo's lord, Ōtomo Sōrin—who had built a strong Bungo kingdom and, for a while (1559–78), controlled six provinces on north Kyushu—had in the end to turn to Hideyoshi in Osaka in 1586 to gain support in the fatal struggle he was waging against the Shimazu family of Satsuma. Hideyoshi responded willingly and came with a

massive and war-seasoned army (280,000 men according to one source) in 1587 and forced the Shimazu family to submit and be satisfied with Satsuma, Ōsumi and part of Hyūga. Ōtomo Sōrin had to settle for Bungo in the new order of things. A new weapon meant all the difference, and both the Shimazu family on Kyushu and Hideyoshi in central Japan profited from the new weapon. This was a showdown between two armies both equipped with a new weapon and a military strategy based on it. The Hideyoshi army was overwhelming and Satsuma gave up without a final and conclusive battle. Japanese history might have been different if it had been Kyushu and Satsuma and not Kansai and Hideyoshi that had won a decisive battle.⁹⁶

GOHŌ

A puzzling person in the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* is the Chinese, Gohō (Ch. Wu-feng), who in both works is mentioned as a Confucian scholar (*jusha*). He takes care of the written conversation with the local official, Oribenōjō, and, according to the *Teppōki*, is thereupon in close touch with the monk Chū Shuso at Akōgi. That he had a special position on board the junk can be taken for granted, whether as captain or owner. In these two works he is described as a Confucian scholar, but in other literature he is more known as a corsair-merchant, whose full name was Wang Wu-feng (Ō Gohō in Japanese) or Wang Chih (Ōchoku in Japanese) who had possibly visited Japan before.⁹⁷ The enigma is why he was on this ship and why he is described as a Confucian scholar and not as a merchant or the captain of the ship.⁹⁸ Could it not have been his merchandise that was sold at a good price at Akōgi Harbour? No source, either Japanese or Portuguese, mentions that the Portuguese brought any merchandise. Pinto states that they had nothing to sell. There is the possibility that there is some confusion about the person in question, and that Gohō represents someone else than the corsair-merchant Wang Chih or Wang Wu-feng, who later established his quarters on the Gotō Islands in Hizen Province.

If the well-known Wang Chih is identical with Gohō, can it be that his trade operations reached Japan only after this accidental visit? According to both Galvano and Pinto they were on their way to Ning-po at the time that they were blown off course and reached Tanegashima. Sansom says that Wang Chih crossed over to Japan in 1545 and invited Japanese merchants to join with him in trade.⁹⁹ If this is right, and he had not visited Japan before 1543, and his business empire obtained a convenient base of operations at Hirado and on Fukue Island (Fukue-jima) among the Gotō Islands in Japan from 1545 (1548 according to some sources),¹⁰⁰ it is natural that the *Tanegashima kafu* mentions him as a Confucian scholar, as he could both read and write and act as an interpreter. Thus, Wang Chih was in legal private trade by the time his junk came adrift and reached Tanegashima in 1543 and was still mainly in the legal trade when he established himself in Hizen in 1545. It was only after the Ming government had destroyed Ning-po and both terminated the licensed trade and prohibited trade with Japan on pain of death that he engaged in smuggling and later in piracy. His trade, whether legal or illegal, reached afar to Luzon in the Philippines and to Annam, Siam and Malacca in the south and he was a wealthy man by the time he established himself in Japan. In the years that followed the

Tanegashima visit, piracy along the Chinese coast increased in intensity and Wang Chih became one of the leaders. Both in trade and piratical activities he was in close touch with Matsura Takanobu at Hirado first of all, but also Ōuchi Yoshitaka at Yamaguchi, Ōtomo Sōrin at Bungo, Shimazu Takahisa at Satsuma and perhaps other daimyo.¹⁰¹

In the *History of Ming (Ming shih)* Wang Chih is described as one of the rebel leaders who invited the Japanese *wakō* pirates to join him and start an invasion of China in great force. This invasion—war more than piracy—began in 1552 and reached its height in 1555. The pirate forces ‘arrived like clouds over the water’, ravaged long stretches along the whole of the Chinese coastline and reached inland as far as Nanking, sacking towns, emptying granaries and carrying off people into slavery. This was war and perhaps Wang Chih’s ultimate objective was to topple the Ming dynasty.¹⁰² The invaders were finally defeated by Ming forces but the pirate activities continued.¹⁰³ With guile and trickery Wang Chih was induced to return to China in 1557 where he was captured and executed in 1559.¹⁰⁴ One would have expected that Nanpo, at a later date, would have known better about these events and described Gohō as Wang Chih, the corsair-merchant, and not as a Confucian philosopher. Perhaps he only followed the Tanegashima family chronicle, having no knowledge about the possible connection with Wang Chih and *wakō* piracy.¹⁰⁵ As a scholar, however, and living in Satsuma he should have known about the famous corsair and his association with the first *nanbansen*—if there was such an association!

Japanese historians, T.Hora and T.Udagawa among them, do not hesitate to identify Gohō as Wang Chih.¹⁰⁶ One wonders whether Samipochea, the corsair mentioned in Pinto’s *Peregrinação*, refers to the same person.¹⁰⁷ In Pinto’s work, it is Samipochea’s ship—a pirate ship on which three Portuguese, Pinto among them, have taken passage—that is blown off course in a storm and arrives at Tanegashima. After the arrival Samipochea is referred to as the *necodá* of the ship (*necodá* with the meaning of captain and owner). He plays an important role at the beginning of the stay on Tanegashima but is not mentioned by Pinto afterwards. Gohō is also only mentioned at the beginning of the *Teppōki* but not afterwards. This is a time when the *Peregrinação* runs amazingly parallel to the *Teppōki* and is helpful in spite of its many exaggerations. Future research and new material might shed more light on Gohō’s identity; until then one can nurse doubts whether he and the later pirate leader Wang Chih are one and the same person. In the *Teppōki* he takes second place after the Portuguese because of the musket(s), but it is un-mistakable that he was a prominent personality among the more than 100 people on board. As much can be said about Samipochea in the *Peregrinação*.

The interpretation problem is also an enigma not easily solved. The *Teppōki* mentions that ‘double interpretation’ (*jūyaku*) took place when Lord Tokitaka talked to the Portuguese. A priest residing in Akōgi served as an interpreter at one time and first we have the ‘written’ conversation in the sand at Nishinomura. Pinto further adds a Ryukyuan woman as an interpreter. There is no mention of how the Portuguese were interpreted. Would ‘double interpretation’ imply that someone could communicate with the Portuguese or that one of the Portuguese managed some Chinese? In the *Tanegashima kafu* only the scholar from Ming (*min-jusha*) is mentioned as interpreter. The enigma remains. It can only be concluded that in one way or another communication took place. However, not in the grand, philosophical style presented in the *Teppōki* and

certainly not in the animated style as given in Pinto's *Peregrinação*. It must in reality have been short exchanges of words, many of them written (in the sand) or explained laboriously by perhaps the Ming Chinese, that is, Gohō, who might have known some Portuguese and by the Ryukyuan woman who perhaps knew Chinese besides Japanese. Further, there is the possibility that the Portuguese might have known some pidgin Chinese.

THE ARRIVAL OF OTHER PORTUGUESE

A pertinent question is to what extent Portuguese ships arrived at Japanese harbours in the years that followed the first Portuguese who arrived on a Chinese junk in 1543. It is posited here that there were not many and that, on the whole, they correspond to the number mentioned in Japanese sources. This supposition is founded on the conviction that a Portuguese ship in these early years of contact was such a sensation that it was carefully noted in the annals of a province. It is hardly correct when it is said that no less than six Portuguese ships reached Satsuma in 1543. It is natural, however, that it was Satsuma more than any other Japanese province that was reached by the first wave of Portuguese commercial endeavour. Three Portuguese ships are registered in 1546 as entering Satsuma harbours but this cannot be confirmed. That Portuguese merchants arrived on Chinese junks, on the other hand, is verified. Thereupon followed the arrival of the Chinese junk with Xavier on board in 1549. The first confirmed arrival of a Portuguese carrack took place in 1550. It arrived at Hirado and made Xavier hurry there from Kagoshima in spite of indisposition and summer heat. As regards Bungo, the arrival of a first Portuguese ship is mentioned in 1541, which, as noted above (see page 33), cannot be corroborated. Next it is recorded that Portuguese came in 1545, but they came on a Chinese junk. The first trustworthy mention of a Portuguese ship arriving in Bungo is in August 1551, which made Xavier hasten there one month later from Yamaguchi. From this time onwards, it is apparent that Portuguese ships arrived in Japanese harbours more and more frequently and annually.¹⁰⁸

If the Portuguese ships, to start with, were few and far between, it does not mean that Portuguese did not come. By all appearance, Portuguese merchants, adventurers and fortune-hunters arrived on Chinese junks, beginning in 1544 and 1545. They did not come in the numbers that Pinto wishes us to believe, but they must have been rather many. They are difficult to list and name because of lack of records and because usually they neither wrote letters nor kept diaries. A guess is that they paid their way on Chinese junks with or without merchandise to sell and that for diverse reasons some of them remained in Japan. Through various sources we can trace a few of them. For example, we have Pero Diez who gave the report to Garcia de Escalante, as mentioned above, and Jorge de Faria, the merchant who came to Bungo in 1545, reportedly with five or six other Portuguese. Perhaps also in 1547 arrived the mysterious Diogo Vaz [d'Aragão] who is said to have stayed in Bungo for some five years, learned Japanese and is reported to have cured the prince who had been in a shooting accident.¹⁰⁹ While there were few Portuguese ships there were a number of Chinese. The two first Portuguese came on a Chinese junk, the six or seven Portuguese mentioned by Ōtomo Sōrin had likewise come

on a Chinese junk and so had perhaps Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão) and others.¹¹⁰ When the shooting accident took place in 1550 (or 1551), it could therefore have been several Portuguese participating in curing the prince.¹¹¹ Thereupon, we can mention the trader-adventurer Duarte da Gama who perhaps visited Japan six times between 1550 and 1555¹¹² and his companion Luís d'Almeida who sailed together with Duarte da Gama and visited Japan for the first time in 1550.¹¹³ Last we can mention Pedro Velho, one of two Portuguese who had visited Miyako (Kyoto) before 1549 according to a letter by Xavier (see also Ch. 12, n. 38).¹¹⁴

There are no assured reports about Portuguese ships arriving in 1547, 1548 or 1549, but in 1550 an unquestionable carrack arrived at Hirado in the middle of the summer. From 1551 onwards yearly arrivals of Portuguese ships are reported and Hirado remained until 1561 the favoured port.¹¹⁵ Other ports were Yokoseura (1563), Fukuda (1565, 1566, 1568, 1569 and 1570), Kuchinotsu (1567) and others on Kyushu. These annual ships from mostly Macao (from 1557) led to the regular Macao-Nagasaki trade from 1571.

That the Portuguese ships coming to Japan in the 1540s were few makes sense since the Portuguese merchant fleet must have been limited in Far Eastern waters at this time, and Japan was only one of the new areas—and the farthest—which were of mercantile interest. There could logically not have been that many ships available for Japan. Research regarding the whole Portuguese merchant fleet in Far Eastern waters might show that the Japanese sources are correct when they only register a few Portuguese ships arriving in Japan before 1550. It is apparent, however, that Portuguese merchants joined forces with Chinese merchants and owned junks that trafficked the Chinese Sea in both licit and illicit trade. It would be another interesting subject for research to find out to what extent there were joint ventures between Portuguese and Chinese in these early years of commerce, smuggling and piracy, and to what extent they competed with each other. The Portuguese were in fact intruders in an area of trade that had been monopolized by the Chinese and the Ryukyuan. Reading Pinto's *Peregrinação*, one gets the impression that the Portuguese and the Chinese were in both cooperation and competition. It seems that Portuguese with their merchandise sailed with Chinese merchants on their junks, paying their way as guest-merchants or passengers.¹¹⁶ The Chinese fleet of merchant junks ran in the thousands. The Portuguese had encountered them already before reaching Malacca in 1509 and they continued to meet them wherever they went after their seizure of Malacca in 1511. Junks seem also to have been available for both sale and rent, and smart businessmen on both sides certainly found ways to deal with each other—in search of profit. Therefore, the conclusion is that, at first, the Portuguese were much dependent on the Chinese and their commerce and traffic was carried out on Chinese junks and in co-shipping with the Chinese owners. The Portuguese part of the trade along the Chinese coast must have been limited.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ABOUT THE TEPPŌKI AND THE TANEGASHIMA KAFU

It is fitting to finish the discussion of the *Teppōki* by mentioning again that this work is a glorification of the Tanegashima family and especially Tanegashima Tokitaka, and

indirectly of Satsuma and the Shimazu family, and that therefore the narrative should not be considered trustworthy in its entirety. The *Tanegashima kafu* is, on the other hand, entry by entry to be trusted, not least because each event is dated—and often double-dated to boot—and probably based on records kept in the Tanegashima house archive from early times, in which important events were registered at the time they took place. When dates can be verified in other documents, for example, for Ōtomo Sōrin's invasion of Hyūga in the 11th month in the 6th year of the Tenshō era (1578), it must be surmised that most other dates are also correct, also the date for the arrival of the first Portuguese in September 1543. The *Tanegashima kafu* must therefore be considered the prime source, more so than the *Teppōki*.

CHAPTER SIX

Fernão Mendes Pinto's Four Visits to Japan, According to the Peregrinação

INTRODUCTION

Among the many Portuguese adventurers who went to the East in the sixteenth century, no one has caused as much controversy as Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509?–83).¹ Following his return to Portugal after twenty-one years in the East, he wrote his *Peregrinação* in 227 chapters in which he describes his adventures, the first and only work of its kind.² It covers all his travels from the day he left for Lisbon in 1521 and departed for the East in 1537 aged about 28 until he returned in 1558 aged about 50. He wrote it as a legacy for his children, and only for them, as he says in the first chapter,³ but since it was printed 30 years after his death (1614), it has become a document that has never ceased to fascinate and intrigue the general reader and historian alike.⁴

It is probable that he began writing the *Peregrinação* rather soon after his return from the East. It is reported that the well-known historian João de Barros (1496–1570) turned to Pinto in his work and had a preview of the first draft of this ‘unique masterpiece’ already in 1569. Pinto was his chief authority on Japan until ‘the Jesuits persuaded him that he would do better to consult their missionary reports from the Land of the Rising Sun’.⁵ It can be imagined that he continued the work also later and Francisco Leite de Faria means that he finished the undertaking by 1580.⁶ Authors of that time had the habit to give long titles for their works. Also in this respect Pinto exaggerates and presents an undertitle twelve lines long, not quoted here. The reader is referred to the front page of the original edition of 1614 (Figure 6 opposite).



Figure 6: Title page of Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinaçam* (1614 edition).

As Maurice Collis has described it, the *Peregrinaçam*—which he appropriately gives the English title, *The Grand Peregrination*—is the greatest baroque masterpiece of the Portuguese language, and we can ask whether there is another masterpiece of its kind in world literature. It does not fit into any category of literature. Reading Pinto, one wonders

at times whether he was not a Baron von Münch-hausen, but then one is struck by the fact that that there is always a grain of truth and true fact in the midst of the many unbelievable adventures in Abyssinia, Arabia, India, Burma, Malacca, China, Japan and other places. As R.D.Catz puts it: 'Even in the most fantastic episodes of his Travels, there is a note that rings true'.⁷

In a sense Pinto is a better Baron von Münchhausen, because truth and fiction are so well woven together that historians are divided in believing and disbelieving him. Therefore he has enjoyed 'la solide reputation de menteur' and been designated 'the father of all lies'. And a pun has been made on the similarity of his name 'Mendes' and 'mendacious'! He must himself, however, have believed the stories he wrote, always referring to the Almighty Lord and Divine Providence. Not once does he hint that he might be embellishing the story or fantasizing. If the story were true in all its adventurous detail, however, he must have surpassed the proverbial cat with nine lives many times over. This makes the reader suspicious, as it makes him critical to find that he is always in the right place at the right time. This last statement relates not least to his four visits to Japan. In his account, he is on board the first ship with Portuguese that reaches the shores of Japan, he is on board the ship which picks up Anjiro⁸ who became Xavier's disciple and follower, he is on board the ship which brings Xavier out of Japan, and he is not far away when in 1552 Xavier dies on an island off the Chinese coast. Only the fourth visit, which he describes as taking place in 1556-57, seems real enough to immediately convince the reader. The dates seem more and more trustworthy with each visit.

One can have doubts about the veracity of much, especially the exaggerated facts, in Pinto's account, but one is also reminded again and again that there is a certain amount of truth in his fascinating narrative. The more one reads him, the more one finds, surprisingly, that he is rather close to the truth.

In his treatment of geography on the whole Pinto seems truthful. Most places can be found on the map and we find no imaginary lands or islands. The same may be said about his descriptions of the sea travel and about sailing conditions generally. It is natural that he jumbles names of people and places, but it is amazing how close the Portuguese transcriptions are, mostly, to the Japanese pronunciation. It is on land that his imagination runs riot, contradictions are numerous and events are exaggerated or even invented. And he shows no respect for mathematics—for instance, when he refers to the huge number of muskets produced on the islands in just a short time or claims that nearly 2,000 Chinese junks foundered in a storm.

This chapter aims only at relating and discussing the four visits to Japan, as described in the *Peregrinação*. It would take us too far afield to put them into the context of all the adventures that Pinto experienced in the East. His visits to Japan are enough for an analysis, and the results can perhaps be applied to other sections of the *Peregrinação*. His visits are here given in summarized form. For a recent complete English translation, the reader is referred to Rebecca D.Catz, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, Chicago, 1989.

THE FIRST VISIT

Pinto's first visit comes rather late in the *Peregrinação*. It is found in chapters 132–137, just after numerous adventures in China have taken place. Together with two other Portuguese, Christovão Borralho and Diogo Zeimoto, he takes passage on a junk belonging to a Chinese corsair by the name of Samipocheca for Ning-po with the intention of finding a ship sailing to Malacca. They run into bad weather and are blown northwards along the Ryukyu Islands. After several days they notice a fire on the horizon, and when they approach land, six men come rowing out in two boats, asking them from where they come. They answer that they come from China with merchandise, and are told in turn that the island is called Tanixumaa (Tanegashima), and that the lord of the island is Nautaquim (Naotoki? =Tokitaka?),⁹ who would certainly allow them the same commerce that is allowed merchants from the main islands of Japan, the country they could see ahead of them. They are happy about such good tidings and having been shown where the harbour is, they sail there and anchor in a little bay. A large town called Miaygima (Miyajima?) is located by the harbour, and they are soon supplied with fresh food and water from there. They have hardly been there for two hours, when the lord, Nautaquim, comes on board, accompanied by merchants and noblemen, bringing chests full of silver to trade.¹⁰ He notices the three Portuguese and asks who they are. From their faces and beards he can tell that they are not Chinese. The corsair answers that they come from Malacca but that their country of origin is Portugal, which is at the end of the world. Nautaquim is amazed and turns to his people and says: 'You may kill me if they are not Chenchicogis (Indians or Portuguese),¹¹ about whom it is written that, flying over the water, they conquer the world where God created all the riches of the world. For this reason, it is our good luck that they have come to our country as friends'. He invites them to come and see him the following day and assures them that he would rather buy their information about foreign lands than any commodity they could offer him.

The next day they all go together with the corsair to Nautaquim's palace where they are cordially received. He questions the Portuguese for some two hours, and Pinto admits that he lies considerably in order not to disappoint the prince in his great opinion of Portugal, about which he had heard earlier from Chinese and Ryukyu people. They are invited to live in a house close to his palace from the following day.

While the corsair captain sells all the merchandise, earning enormous profits, the Portuguese, who have nothing to sell, pass the time hunting, fishing and visiting temples. Diogo Zeimoto, who is very fond of shooting, downs some 26 wild ducks and the astounded inhabitants report this to Nautaquim, who immediately sends for him. He is full of wonder when he sees Zeimoto with the musket on his shoulder and believes that he is carrying some kind of magic. Then Zeimoto makes a demonstration and shoots down two doves and a seahawk. Nautaquim is so excited that he makes Zeimoto climb up behind him on his horse and declares in front everyone that he shall make this *chenchicogim*¹² from the end of the world his relative. He invites Zeimoto to his palace and makes him stay there overnight and shows him great favour.

Zeimoto feels that he has to repay the honours received and finds no better way than to give Nautaquim a musket. The lord receives it with pleasure and assures Zeimoto that he

esteems the present more than all the treasures of China. In return, Zeimoto receives a thousand silver taels, and he teaches the lord how to make the gunpowder, without which the musket was a useless iron tube.

Nautaquim immediately begins to exercise with the musket, and at the same time his blacksmiths begin to copy it. This is done with such ardour that, according to Pinto, there are 600 muskets around when they leave five and a half months later. At this point Pinto anticipates and mentions that he was told during his fourth visit to Japan in 1556 (see page 118 below) that there were more than 30,000 muskets in Bungo alone and more than 300,000 in all of Japan; 25,000 muskets had even been exported and sold to the Ryukyus!

¹³ Due to a single musket given to Nautaquim as a sign of gratitude and friendship, by 1556 the country was filled to such abundance with muskets that there was not a hamlet where people did not forge a hundred muskets or more. Pinto sees this as evidence of how addicted the Japanese are to military exercise and combat, 'in which they take more delight than any other nation that is known'.¹⁴

They have already spent 23 days on Tanegashima when an emissary comes from the king of Bungo. He brings a letter from the king, who has heard about the three *Chenchicogins* from the end of the world and wishes that one of them come to Bungo. He is anxious to hear about the world, which might help him in his long illness and indisposition.

Nautaquim does not want to let Zeimoto go until he has learned to shoot like him, but either Borralho or Pinto can go. Pinto is chosen because of his cheerful disposition. He leaves with the emissary and they arrive at the capital of Bungo where the king receives him most cordially. In bed, suffering from gout, the king addresses Pinto: 'May your arrival in the land over which I rule be as pleasant as the rain that falls from Heaven after the rice is planted!'¹⁵ Pinto feels embarrassed and cannot say a word for a while, and the king believes that this is because too many people are present. Then Pinto answers that it is not the multitude of people that cause his embarrassment, but the distinguished appearance of the king that is making him speechless. This answer impresses the king and all others and the king immediately feels much better. The queen and her daughters raise their hands and thank Heaven for the great blessing granted them.

What the king wants to find out is whether Pinto, who comes from a country at the end of the world, has heard about any remedy for his illness. Pinto answers that he is not a doctor, but he knows that there is a kind of wood¹⁶ on the ship he has come on, which, mixed with water, cures worse illnesses than the one the king suffers from. The king is delighted and people are sent to Tanegashima to fetch such wood. He takes this treatment and within thirty days is cured and can leave the bed to which he has been confined for two years.

The musket is as much a novelty in Bungo and arouses as much curiosity. The king's second son, Arichandono, about sixteen or seventeen years old, asks Pinto to teach him how to shoot, but Pinto puts him off by telling him that it would take a long time to learn. The king, however, pleads to Pinto who promises to do as he wishes. When the boy comes the following day, Pinto is in his siesta sleep, and without waking Pinto, he takes the musket to try it by himself. He loads it, however, with too much gunpowder, so that when ignited, it blows up in three pieces, and the boy is wounded on the head and in the thumb of the right hand. He falls to the ground as if dead. His friends run to the palace,

screaming that the foreigner's musket has killed the prince. A crowd assembles and hastens to Pinto, who waking up, sees the young prince unconscious and covered with blood, moving neither hand nor foot. The king arrives, carried in a litter, so distraught that he, too, looks more dead than alive. After him comes the queen, supported by her ladies and also her two daughters. The conclusion is that Pinto has killed the boy, and two men brandishing their swords are ready to cut him down. But the king stops them. He wants to know what has happened. He wonders whether Pinto has been bribed by the relatives of the traitors he has executed recently. As the interrogation continues, Pinto is on his knees, bound and at first not able to utter a word, but recovering his wits, he firmly states that he is innocent and calls Heaven as his witness. As the passions rise, it is asked that he should be put to death (one of the many times Pinto is close to death in the *Peregrinação*).

Then the prince suddenly regains consciousness. He explains what has happened, that the accident is his own fault, and asks that Pinto should be untied and set free. Pinto is set free, and in the end he is, at the boy's request, asked to treat the wounds. He examines him, and finds that he has two wounds, one in the face just above the forehead, which is not dangerous, and one on the thumb of his right hand, which is half severed. So, relying on the Good Lord (Pinto never forgets to refer to his God), he tells the king that his son would be healed in less than a month. He puts seven stitches in the thumb and five in the forehead, in the way he had seen it done in India by Portuguese surgeons. Five days later he removes the stitches and 20 days later, with God's will, the prince is completely recovered. The king's gratitude is profuse. Presents are showered on Pinto; he is given silks, swords, fans and 600 taels of silver.¹⁷

Just about that time letters arrive from Borralho and Zeimoto, informing him that the Chinese corsair has made preparations for the return to China, and that the ship is ready to sail. Pinto asks the king to be allowed to leave. The king, happy about his son's recovery, sends him back in one of his own vessels with a captain and 20 men. They leave Fuchō in Bungo on a Saturday morning and reach Tane—gashima the following Friday. They stay for another fifteen days on Tanegashima, before they sail for Ning-po in China.¹⁸

The account of Pinto's first visit to Japan ends here. It need be added that, when Pinto, Borralho and Zeimoto tell their compatriots of the chance discovery of Japan and of the great quantity of silver to be found there, their excitement is without bounds. After giving thanks to the Lord for such a great blessing, greed takes over and 'the "Rush" des Portugais au Japon' begins.¹⁹ In only two weeks nine junks are readied and loaded with merchandise, and without a moment's thought for the perils of the sea, they set sail. Pinto goes along on one of them. Seven junks founder with all on board, but two survive and reach the Ryukyu Islands, together with some women who are also saved.²⁰ Pinto is on one of the two and, incredibly, he is once again miraculously saved when the ship crushes on the rocky shores of one of the Ryukyu Islands. He comes ashore safely and his Ryukyu adventures begin. He is imprisoned and condemned to death accused of piracy, but is released due to the intervention of a number of compassionate women and thanks to an equally compassionate king, and he can safely return to Ning-po. Illogically he recommends thereupon that the Portuguese should undertake the conquest of the Ryukyu Islands.²¹ He does not reach Japan on this journey.

THE SECOND VISIT

Pinto presents no dates for the first visit to Japan, only the total length of the stay of five and a half months. His second visit comes after other dangerous adventures, this time in Southeast Asia, and is found in chapters 200–203 of the *Peregrinação*. No exact date for the departure is given but indirectly we understand that it takes place in 1546. He leaves Malacca with Jorge Alvares,²² the captain of the ship, and 26 other Portuguese on a trading voyage and after 26 days of fair sailing, they reach Tanegashima and anchor outside a port that Pinto renders as Guanxiro (Akōgi?). The prince of the island, Nautaquim, comes immediately *por sua curiosidade*, but, curiously enough, there is no mention of Pinto and him having met before. One would have expected the first visit to have been referred to, if it had really taken place. It is also strange that the name of the harbour is given as Guanxiro and not as Miaygima as during the first visit. Nautaquim is, however, delighted to see a Portuguese *náo* for the first time and wishes that they stay and do trade with him. The captain, Jorge Alvares, and the merchants refuse, however, because they do not consider Guanxiro a safe harbour in the event of a storm, so they sail the following day and arrive five days later in the harbour of Fuchō²³ in the kingdom of Bungo. There they are well received by the king, who shows them much favour and generosity.

This was promising, but Pinto thereupon turns to the civil strife which broke out within the kingdom of Bungo soon after their arrival. The king is unfortunately killed by one of his vassals, a Fucarandono. This story is given with much cruel detail. It concentrates around a prince, Axirandono from the province of Arima, and Fucarandono, who wants to have his daughter married to the prince. Everything goes smoothly with the king as the intermediary. The girl, however, is madly in love with the son of a certain nobleman, Groge Aarum, who elopes with her and places her in a convent. Fucarandono, out of his senses, goes berserk and a civil war commences in which many thousands of people are killed, including the king and 26 Portuguese out of the 40 who are with the king at the time. The capital, Fuchō, is sacked. Pinto and his friends are also in danger but manage with much difficulty to return to the ship, weigh anchor, and run out to sea. In the end, Fucarandono himself is killed in the *melée* that engulfs the capital of Bungo. In chapter 201, Pinto describes how the son of the dead king takes a bloody revenge on the mutineers and is proclaimed king.²⁴

Having given up hope for trade in Bungo, the Portuguese sail to a port in the gulf of Kagoshima, named Hyamangó (Yamagawa?) by Pinto,²⁵ where they stay for two and a half months, without being able to sell a thing, because this country is flooded with goods from China. More than 2,000 trading junks have sailed from China to Japan in that year and they can count hundreds of such junks, loaded with silk, in the ports of Kyushu. The result is that the price of silk has gone down (Pinto presents exact figures!) and the Portuguese are faced with total ruin.²⁶

On 5 December 1546 a great storm blows up, however, and most crafts go under. Pinto gives the precise number of 1,972 ships, on which there were also 26 Portuguese, not counting a thousand Christians of other nations. Only ten or twelve vessels are saved, and Pinto happens to be on one of them!²⁷ This is once again a miracle, and a subsequent

miracle is the fact that they can sell their merchandise at huge profits. They can leave rich, but also sad, remembering all the people and riches which have been lost.

They encounter new storms. In one they lose an anchor, which is found by divers at the depth of 26 fathoms (*sic*), and in another they are close to be thrown up on a rocky shore. In the midst of their hardships, two men come riding down to the shore waving at them with a cloth, and beg to be taken on board. Since one of Pinto's slaves²⁸ had fled during the night, he is allowed by Jorge Alvares to go ashore to enquire about him.

One of the Japanese tells Pinto that he is a fugitive and that his pursuers are close behind. He begs to be taken on board the ship and be saved. Pinto decides to take him and the other Japanese along, but they have hardly pushed off from the shore when a body of mounted soldiers gallop up, shouting that they shall surrender the traitors or die. They row on, however, and reach the ship safely.

Jorge Alvares agrees to give the two Japanese a free passage. The first among them is Anjiro.²⁹ It was he who, baptised under the name of Paulo de Santa Fé (Paul of Holy Faith)—the first Japanese converted to Christianity—accompanied Xavier to Japan in 1549, acting as his interpreter and assistant.

The ship sails out from Yamagawa and the gulf of Kagoshima on 16 January 1547, and God gives them fourteen days of good wind to reach China. Arriving in Chincheo in China, however, they hear that the pirate Chepocheca is in the area with a great fleet of 60,000 men, and in the face of such danger, Jorge Alvares thinks it safe to continue in the direction of Malacca where they arrive later the same year. It so happened that Xavier returned from the Moluccas in April of the same year, and it is therefore not impossible that Pinto was present when Anjiro was introduced to Xavier, as he says in the *Peregrinação*.³⁰

Whether Pinto was present or not, however, Xavier and Anjiro met for the first time in 1547 in Malacca, and it is not impossible that Pinto was there at the time.³¹ The date given in other sources for the first meeting when Jorge Alvares introduced Anjiro to Father Francis Xavier is 7 December 1547. That only Jorge Alvares is mentioned need only be due to the fact that he was the captain and the important person while Pinto was a merchant, not worth mentioning.³² The Portuguese social snobbery was apparent in their exclusive reliance on 'gentlemen of blood' and 'fidalgo nobility'.³³ In this class-conscious society where birth ranked higher than merit a merchant was of course not counted.

About a year before Pinto died, Father Giovanni Maffei (1533–1603) interviewed him about his travels in the East and wrote a summary about the first two visits to Japan. This is a concise version of the trips which, in the main, agrees with the longer version in the *Peregrinação*. Here, too, Pinto is one of the discoverers of Japan, and they come storm-driven to Tanegashima 'on Saint John's day (24th June) in the year of forty-one (*sic*)'. Here it is said that the lord of the island is married to a daughter of the king of Bungo. Now, the 13th lord Shigetoki was married to a daughter of Shimazu Satsuma no kami Tadaoki who in turn was the mother of the 14th lord Tokitaka, according to the *Tanegashima kafu*. Under the first visit the lord explains how he is related to the king of Bungo. He says that 'he is both lord and uncle to me, my mother's brother, and he is, above all, a good father to me, and I call him that because he is my wife's father'.³⁴ Pinto intermingles Bungo and Satsuma and, likewise, the father, 13th lord Shigetoki, and the

son, the 14th lord Tokitaka. Tanegashima belonged under Satsuma and not under Bungo. Pinto has replaced Satsuma with Bungo. The father Shigetoki seems to be in the centre as much as the son Tokitaka, and this might explain why Pinto does not seem to have met Tokitaka before when he arrives at Tanegashima on his second journey. The name Naotaquim could therefore refer to the father as much as to the son and be a title rather than a name. It has to be remembered that when Pinto wrote about the first visit, the story probably originated from various sources and it is therefore futile to consider the terms and names too logically.³⁵ Perhaps the situation was too complicated for Pinto!

In the Maffei version the shooting accident, where the prince is badly injured, takes place on Tanegashima (and not in Bungo)³⁶ and Pinto is in great danger to be killed. He is found innocent and he cures the prince, 'thus securing the friendship of the king of the island'. 'And this was the beginning of the trade and intercourse with the Japanese'. From here Pinto and his companions return to Liampo (Ning-po) in China giving the Portuguese there tidings of the most lucrative commerce. Forthwith some merchant vessels are fitted out for Japan, 'but as they mistake the monsoon, they are nearly all lost', and Pinto 'escapes from the wreck, cast ashore on some islands, whence he is finally delivered'. 'They return subsequently and then bring Angero (Yajiro) who later returns together with padre Master Francisco (Xavier)'.³⁷

As can be seen, this is a paraphrase of the longer version in the *Peregrinação*, a paraphrase that does not deviate considerably from the original version. It is more compact and the second visit is shortened to the last quoted sentence. Even the adventures in Bungo come in shortened form. If the *Peregrinação* is built on much hearsay information and imagination, it is quite amazing that his memory of these 'imaginary' happenings is exactly the same a year before his death—some forty years after they should have taken place. Whether or not this succinct narrative is more convincing is, as Boxer says, a matter of taste. It is perhaps more convincing because it is shorter, but the question marks remain as regards its veracity, perhaps with the exception of the event in the last sentence.

It was after this journey that Jorge Alvares wrote the account about Japan that inspired Xavier (see page 29 above).

THE THIRD VISIT

Later in 1547 Pinto is again in danger, when the king of Achin comes with a fleet of 70 ships carrying 5,000 fighting men on board to take Malacca (chapters 203–206 in the *Peregrinação*). The attack is repulsed, not least thanks to Xavier's prayers which encourage the commander Simão de Mello and the soldiers. In the years that follow Pinto says little about what happens to himself, while he instead concentrates on Xavier, whose activities for the Lord apparently filled him with awe. The story, as it were, turns from Pinto to Xavier. He relates how Xavier, overcoming many obstacles, is on his way to Japan in 1549 together with, among others, the above-mentioned Anjiro, how they arrive at Kagoshima on 15 August, and how they begin their missionary work there.

About two years later Pinto's third visit to Japan follows in 1551 (chapters 208–214 in the *Peregrinação*). He sails on a ship, of which Duarte da Gama³⁸ is the captain, and he

again comes to the kingdom of Bungo. He goes as a merchant. Again he happens to be in the right place at the right time. One day in September 1551, three Christian Japanese arrive at Funai, the port where they are anchored, and inform Duarte da Gama and the other Portuguese that Xavier is two leagues away, at a place called Pimlaxau, ill and in bad shape after having walked 60 leagues. His head is aching and his feet are swollen from the long march from Yamaguchi. If a horse is sent, he might accept to ride on it.

It is immediately decided among the Portuguese that Xavier shall be met and aided and a party of merchants—among whom Pinto is one (naturally!)—sets out on horseback. They have hardly gone a mile before they see Xavier coming towards them, accompanied by two Japanese whom he has recently converted. The sight disconcerts them, for he is limping along, looking tired and ill, with a pack on his back containing the things he needs for giving mass. He refuses the horse that they have brought for him, and they are obliged to walk with him, though he tells them to remount their horses.³⁹

When they arrive at the place where the ship is anchored, Xavier is welcomed with an artillery salute which resounds ‘to the extent that the cliffs around break and open’. The king who hears the noise is startled at such a cannonade and believes that the Portuguese are in combat with a fleet of pirates, who are rumoured to operate along the coast. He sends a gentleman to Duarte da Gama to find out what is going on. He is told that it is no pirates but the arrival of a saint, much respected by the king of Portugal, who is being celebrated by the cannonade. The gentleman is confused and does not know what to tell the king, who had been told by Buddhist priests that Xavier was not a saint but a magician in association with demons, so poor and miserable that even the lice, with which his body was covered, were loath to eat his flesh. The king understands that the priests have lied to him and, much impressed by the treatment that Duarte da Gama has given the saintly father, he immediately sends for him, and he is brought in a grand procession to the king’s palace, in which all Portuguese, including Duarte da Gama, participate.

Xavier and the other Portuguese are received with much pomp and circumstance. Already in the front court the royal guard meets with 600 men in full military gala, and in the inner court they are met by an equal number of dignitaries. In an inner hall the king, who has risen, comes forward and greets Xavier. Those present with the king are counted in the thousands. Among them, some Buddhist priests are not happy with the grand reception, nor with the conversation that follows between the king and Xavier. A discussion takes place between one priest, Fixiandono, and Xavier, which could have taken place, as it is known that Xavier engaged in debate with Buddhist monks when evangelizing in Bungo, but it is equally plausible that Pinto invented and added it.

The same can be said about the following five-day disputation that follows between Xavier and a distinguished priest from Miyajima. It is given in a detailed fashion in the *Peregrinação* but cannot be verified in other sources, for example, in the history of the Ōtomo house in Bungo, in Luís Frois’ *Historia de Japam* or in Xavier’s own letters.⁴⁰ Pinto uses all his imagination to show how gloriously Xavier can outdo his Buddhist opponents. Xavier had discussed and disputed with bonzes at Yamaguchi and perhaps other places, but there is no proof that this took place at Bungo. What makes the discussion with Fixiandono and the five-day disputation so improbable is the question of interpretation. Who could have acted as his interpreter in his discussions with trained

Buddhist dialecticians? And in Japanese! No one is mentioned and this leads to the conclusion that the disputations are also figments of Pinto's rich imagination.⁴¹

Generally, however, there must have been somebody who helped Xavier with the language. It could have been any one of the three converts, João, Antonio and Bernardo, who escorted Xavier to Bungo and afterwards to India. Or it could have been the enigmatic Diogo Vaz [d'Aragão] who is said to have lived in Bungo for five years by this time and had learned Japanese. The last possibility is that Xavier had over two years learned so much Japanese that he could converse with the daimyo at least in simple terms. Disputations with learned monks would, however, not have been possible without good interpretation. Xavier is of no help. He only writes later, in a letter dated 25 January 1552, that the king received him with great magnanimity and that meeting the Portuguese was a great pleasure for the king.

After the alleged five-day disputation, given in two long chapters (212 and 213 in the *Peregrinação*), in which the king participates in person day by day, it is finally time for departure. On the last day, the king takes Xavier by the hand and accompanies him to the house where the Christians live. The Buddhist priests express their wrath, and 'wish that the fire of Heaven fall down upon the king, who allows himself so easily to be duped by a magician, a faineant sans nom.' So they depart (chapter 214), with Xavier on board, and keep within sight of land as far as an island called Meleitor. Then the crossing begins with seven days of fair wind, but suddenly the wind shifts and they run into a raging storm beyond human imagination, which lasts for five days. In the middle of the storm one of the famous miracles ascribed to Xavier, the 'miracle of the sloop', mentioned not only in the *Peregrinação*, takes place.⁴² Pinto gives 17 December 1551 as the date of the miracle.⁴³ For Pinto it was a further demonstration of Xavier's saintliness, which makes him consider leaving all worldly affairs and become a Jesuit. They anchor at the Sancian (Sanchão, Shang-ch'uan),⁴⁴ an island close to Canton on the Chinese coast. In chapter 215, Pinto relates the events which lead up to Xavier's death in such intimate detail that the reader could believe that he was present when Xavier passed away on the same Sancian Island. He gives the date 2 December 1552, which is close to the truth. In other sources we find both the 2nd and 3rd of December given for Xavier's death.⁴⁵ He is buried on the island, but three months and five days later the grave is opened and the body found completely intact (another miracle), placed in a coffin and transported to Malacca where it is buried for nine months, from 17 March to 11 December 1553. Thereafter, the body is placed in a new casket and brought to Goa, where Xavier finds his final resting place. This account is close to what is found in other sources, for example, in shorter form in Luís Frois' *Historia de Japam*.

Pinto does not say that he is present at the time of Xavier's death or at the burials. What he says explicitly is that, upon reaching Sancian Island thirteen days after the storm, his and Xavier's ways part. Xavier embarks on another ship for Malacca, while Duarte da Gama's ship is laid up in Siam for the winter. Pinto's third journey to Japan was over.

THE FOURTH VISIT

Pinto makes his fourth and last visit to Japan as is described in chapters 223–226 in the *Peregrinação*. This time he goes on a ship owned by Dom Francisco Mascarenhas as an ambassador and not as a merchant, representing the Portuguese viceroy of India, from whom he carries a letter to the king of Bungo. With him travels Father Belchior Nunes, the Provincial of the Jesuits in Goa.⁴⁶ The purpose of the journey is both diplomatic and missionary, aiming at making the king of Bungo a Christian and Bungo a Christian land. Pinto has in the intervening years become a fervent Christian and a Jesuit brother under the influence of Xavier, and it is possible that he both initiated and paid for the mission to Japan.

They leave for Japan on 1 April 1555 from Malacca, but are delayed again and again along the Chinese coast, where they also visit Sancian Island to commemorate Xavier. During the long stay on Lampacau Island, Father Belchior is busy as a priest but he is also in direct touch with the Chinese authorities in Canton, and he manages to free Portuguese prisoners who have been in Chinese gaols for years. In these endeavours he visits Canton twice, probably together with Pinto, but this is not mentioned in the *Peregrinação*. This we know from letters written by both Father Belchior and Pinto. Instead of reporting on these visits Pinto uses much space to tell the reader about an earthquake that occurs in China at this time.⁴⁷ It is not until 7 May 1556 that they depart from Lampacau in China. A fortnight later they sight Tanegashima, follow the coast of



Figure 7: Portrait of Fernão Mendes Pinto, as reproduced in the Japanese source, *Hyōchakusen no porutogarujin*. Note that no portrait of Pinto was found by the author in any of the Portuguese sources consulted.

Kyushu and arrive at Fuchō, the capital of Bungo, and Pinto promptly goes to see the king at the fortress of Usuki,⁴⁸ where the latter has taken refuge due to an uprising. The king has, however, left the same morning with a large party to kill a big fish of unknown species, on an island by the name of Xequé. Pinto is invited to the island where he finds that a whale has been killed together with 'a quantity of fish'. A smiling king meets him and together they return to Usuki.

Afterwards follows a royal dinner at which also the queen, her daughters and other ladies are present. Pinto and his four Portuguese companions are asked to eat with their hands, just as they do in their country. This amuses the king and the queen and the ladies present, because, as Pinto says, 'these people are used to eating with (chop-)sticks and consider it highly uncivilized to put their hands on the food.' In the midst of the merriment one of the king's daughters, fourteen or fifteen years old, asks permission to perform a farce, and together with six to seven friends she leaves the room. When they return, the princess is dressed as a Portuguese merchant, carrying a gold-plated sword. She kneels in front of the king and plays the role of a poor Portuguese merchant, begging that the king shall help him in his distress. The princess is lovely and she plays her role so well that the king and queen laugh uncontrollably, as do all others present except, presumably, the Portuguese, who feel rather embarrassed. Pinto says that he had seen such farces on Tanegashima and at other places earlier, and was not as astounded as his four friends, and he also pretends that he understands the language while the other four do not.⁴⁹ The whole episode shows with what disgust 'the Japanese viewed contemporary European table manners'.⁵⁰

A week later Pinto presents the letter from the viceroy of India, and an impressive meeting with the king takes place. Ambassadors from other countries are present, and 1,000 musketeers and 400 mounted warriors are in line. There are 40 Portuguese in Pinto's party. The king stands up when he receives the letter from the viceroy, and hands it to a secretary who reads it aloud for all to hear. One wonders in which language and whether with or without interpretation?



Figure 8: Portuguese trumpeter. It was not only contemporary European table manners that disgusted the Japanese. They also ridiculed other aspects of European behaviour.

Afterwards the king asks curiously about matters in Europe in the presence of the ambassadors. Among the questions is one about how many men the king of Portugal can muster and put in the field, infantry and cavalry. Pinto hesitates because he is afraid he will blush, if he tells a lie. One of his companions, however, takes it upon himself to answer and says that the Portuguese king can bring up to 120,000 men in the field. The king is amazed—and so is Pinto! The king turns to his people and says that he wishes more than anything else to see that grand land with so many treasures. Bidding Pinto and his party farewell, he tells Pinto that Father Belchior Nunez is welcome to come and see him at any time.

Father Belchior goes at once to the king's palace and is received in the same grand manner as Pinto. He is escorted by 40 well-dressed Portuguese, among whom Brother Juan Fernandez serves as interpreter. Pinto is also among them. The king greets Father Belchior with a radiant face and many compliments and says that he is receiving him with the same great pleasure that he has earlier received Father Francis Xavier. When it comes to the crucial question of converting to the Christian faith, however, he becomes

evasive and says that he is afraid of mutiny if his vassals and the Buddhist priests see any change in him. He has recently been through a revolt, and has been forced to execute thirteen lords and 13,000 of their followers, not to mention almost as many who were exiled. If the occasion came, however, that he could obtain what his soul longed for, it would be nothing else than what the viceroy proposed in his letter. The father is much pleased with his saintly resolution, but reminds the king that men are mortal, and if he dies before he has achieved his wish, what would happen to his soul? The king smiles and answers, 'God knows'.

Understanding that no good words would convince the king on such an important matter, Father Belchior turns to other subjects which please the king more. After a long evening during which the king asks about many things which are new to him, he bids the father farewell, half promising that he will one day become a Christian. (He kept his promise 22 years later, in 1578.)

Two and a half months go by, during which the king does not show any change of mind. There are only vague promises and excuses which do not satisfy Father Belchior, who feels that he is wasting his time. When a letter arrives from Malacca which invites him to missionary work in Ethiopia, he is ready to leave. In this situation Pinto goes one last time to see the king and asks for a reply to the viceroy in India. It was already written, and Pinto receives it together with a gift of arms. Pinto returns to the ship on which Father Belchior Nunes and the rest of the party have already embarked. They depart on the following day, 14 November 1556. The winds are favourable and on 6 December they arrive in Lampacau in China, and thereupon on 17 February 1557 in Goa in India. Pinto reports in detail to Francisco Barreto,⁵¹ who receives the letter and the gifts (two golden swords, other weapons and 100 Ryukyuan fans) from the king of Bungo. The viceroy expresses that he values these presents as highly as the governorship of India, because they can bring him high favour and make him agreeable to his sovereign in Lisbon.

Thereupon the viceroy gives Pinto a letter addressed to the king of Portugal, in which he praises Pinto for the many services he has rendered in the East. With this letter Pinto finally embarks for Portugal, where he arrives in Lisbon on 22 September 1558. After returning home and not being received and honoured as expected 'after my services of twenty-one years, during which I was captured thirteen times and sold into slavery sixteen times',⁵² he turns to his memoirs, his *Peregrinação*, and passes probably as many years on them as he has spent in the East until he dies in 1583.

CONCLUSION⁵³

What is the conclusion? Did Pinto visit Japan four times or less? Where does truth end and fiction begin? That Pinto at all events had visited Japan, first of all Bungo, but also Tanegashima, must be taken for granted. He could not have related a number of things only on hearsay without having been there himself. He perhaps visited Tanegashima several times and perhaps local people told him things that he could elaborate upon in his *Peregrinação*. Since he pretends to have learned some Japanese, he might, in the end, have been able to talk with people without interpreter. Truth and fiction are so

convincingly poised, however, that it is often impossible to discern which is which. Taking the visits, as they are given in the *Peregrinaçam* backwards, the last one seems most credible, and the date for the departure from Japan, 14 November 1556, is quite a safe date. Maybe his memory or notes were so good that he could give the date for the last time he left Japan. The visit matches other sources. The Bungo chronicle registers a Portuguese ship in 1556, and Luís Frois relates how a ship owned by Francisco de Mascarenhas left Sancian Island in June 1556 for Bungo with Father Belchior on board. Luís Frois quotes a long letter from Father Belchior in which he relates the visit, and also that he was not successful in convincing the Bungo king to become a Christian. Why, however, is Pinto not mentioned in the letter? If he were the ambassador, as he says, one would expect his name to be mentioned explicitly, and it is not. In the letter Belchior mentions a merchant on board who is experienced in navigation and who saves the ship when it is about to founder on the way into Bungo waters. Perhaps this refers to Pinto? Maybe he participated in the mission, not as an ambassador but in a lower capacity as a merchant who paid for the mission? Or as a Jesuit brother of lower standing? His account of the visit runs parallel with that of Father Belchior on important points, although exaggerated and enlarged, and it must be surmised that he was present as one of the party, although not important enough to be mentioned by Father Belchior. One gets hesitant, for example, when Pinto does not mention that Father Belchior lay ill for three months before they departed or that they ran into a five-day heavy storm on their way back (in November according to Pinto). One must conclude, however, that this fourth trip in the *Peregrinaçam* is authentic, even though question marks pile up when carefully comparing his account with Belchior's letter.⁵⁴

What proves that Pinto was a member of the mission is found in the earlier chapters in the *Peregrinaçam* which relates the long and arduous journey from Goa in 1554. It took them more than two years to reach Japan. The dates fit well with those found in Father Belchior's letters⁵⁵ and Luís Frois' *Historia da Japam*. For example, the departure from Malacca is given as 1 April 1554, in both works. It is still amazing that Luís Frois, who travelled with the mission from Goa to Malacca, does not mention Pinto. Schurhammer, however, does not doubt that Pinto was a member of the mission and that he was the official emissary that he describes himself to be.⁵⁶

If the fourth visit took place more or less as described, what about the earlier three? He was a merchant, and it is natural that he went to Japan with his merchandise as soon as he could after the country was discovered. Probably he sailed there several times, but not as described in the *Peregrinaçam*. He could not have written so realistically about things Japanese without having been to the country and certainly not about Bungo without having stayed there for some time. He might have been in Bungo when Xavier arrived from Yamaguchi (in 1551), and he might have been on his way from there when Anjiro asked to be taken on board (in 1546). It is, however, not probable that he was there, so timely, on both occasions. Logically, at least one of the events ought to be discounted, and it is posited here that neither of them took place as given in the *Peregrinaçam*.

There are historical facts which make both the second and the third accounts less trustworthy. During the second visit the 'king' of Bungo is assassinated, but this assassination of the daimyo of Bungo, Yoshiaki, took place in February 1550, and not in 1546, when Pinto says that he was there. This incident, well-known in the Bungo history

as the *Nikai-kuzure no hen*, 'The Second-Floor Murder Case', concerned the murder and succession of the 20th Ōtomo daimyo, Yoshiaki, and involved no love story as indicated by Pinto.⁵⁷ Yoshiaki was seriously wounded in the *melée* and died soon afterwards. His eldest son, Yoshishige (Sōrin), took over as the 21st daimyo of Bungo. Pinto's story must therefore be based on what he had heard later, possibly in 1551, and the dramatic account of the mutiny and conflict be considered a product of his rich and vigorous imagination. A number of people died during the incident, but there was no bloodshed to the extent related by Pinto. The account of the third visit is also less trustworthy because, for example, the long disputation between Xavier and the Buddhist priest is not recorded in other sources. Discussions, disputes and disputations between Jesuits and Buddhist monks took place at other times, for example at Yamaguchi,⁵⁸ and Pinto had of course heard of them and found it suitable to attribute a disputation to Xavier when he stayed in Bungo. Further, it is recorded that Xavier visited Tanegashima for a week on his way out of Japan, and there is no mention of this visit in the *Peregrinação*. It is therefore concluded that the accounts as regards both the second and third visits are based on hearsay rather than on personal participation.

This leaves the first trip, where he describes himself as one among the three first Portuguese to arrive in Japan, the others being Borralho and Zeimoto. He gives no dates for arrival and departure, which is suspicious in itself, since he is otherwise quite particular with dates, whether right or wrong, as regards important events. The account dealing with this visit is a fascinating story, among the first in the literature about Japan after Marco Polo. It should, however, be taken as no more than a story, a colourful but fictitious story of the arrival of the first Portuguese on Tanegashima, and Pinto was certainly not among them. The earliest Japanese source, *Teppōki*, mentions two Portuguese, and Pinto probably met one or both of them, heard their accounts and wove them together with his own experiences, adding what he had heard from other quarters, not least Japanese people whom he met when visiting Japan later. One has to remember that ocean trips took weeks and months in those days, and sailors and merchants had ample time to tell and retell everything they had experienced and heard. Likewise, the Japanese on Tanegashima remembered the first visit of the southern barbarians and the musket(s) they brought. Pinto was quite certainly one of the Portuguese merchants who set out for Japan a year or two after its discovery. With his usual imagination, Pinto only added his name and made himself one of the first Europeans to reach Marco Polo's golden land of Japan. João Rodrigues Tçuzzu⁵⁹ may have been close to the truth when he wrote in his *História da Igreja do Japão*, (The History of the Church in Japan) that the *Peregrinação* was a book of make-believe (*livro dos fengimentos*), written more for recreation than for truth, and also C.R.Boxer when he states that 'Pinto's lies, though harmless, were colossal'.⁶⁰ With all exaggerations and imaginary flourishes he indeed earned himself epithets like 'liar of the first magnitude'.⁶¹ It has to be remembered, however, that there is substantial truth throughout Pinto's inimitable narrative, but, as already said, a truth that is often enlarged and time and again manipulated. A good example of exaggerated truth is when he relates, in chapter 134, that more than 600 muskets had already been made on Tanegashima when they left after five and a half months on the first visit and that there were 300,000 muskets on all the islands of Japan on the last visit in 1556. A case of manipulated truth is when he relates that he treated the

wound of the prince of Bungo. Tradition has it that a prince was in fact wounded by a musket mishap (Yoshinaga, a younger son of Daimyo Yoshiaki)⁶² but this took place later (1550) and he was treated by another Portuguese, Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão) and perhaps others. Even if the exaggeration about the production of muskets can be blamed on boastful informants, other stories, for example the above statement about his curing the prince, must be regarded as fanciful and downright falsification.

It is also plausible that Pinto had a library at his disposal in Portugal after his return where he could read the correspondence and reports that had been sent home by mostly missionaries. He might have had a formidable memory, but common logic says that he must have had other sources to draw from when he related adventures which had taken place some 40 years earlier. Having moreover an exceptional literary talent and an infinite ability to fabricate, he could use all sources plus his own experiences—and his imagination—and write an unparalleled story about the Portuguese in Asian countries.

But could Pinto possibly have been among the first Portuguese who arrived at Tanegashima? A close reading of the *Peregrinação* discloses that he could not have been among them. In foregoing chapters, in which he relates his many adventures in China, he presents a number of dates. In chapter 71 he says that he left Ning-po on 14 May 1542 with Antonio de Faria, who was probably more a pirate than a merchant, and in chapter 79 it is said that an accident takes place on 5 August 1542 after which he is imprisoned by the Chinese. The following *fifty-four* chapters are a long account of dangerous events in China with many dates until the arrival at Tanegashima with the Chinese corsair Samipocheca in chapter 133, with no date given. In chapter 126 we find the date 15 May 1544, given when he is still in China. Thereupon, in chapter 132 he states that they left Uzangue (in Indochina?) on 12 January, with no year given, but it should logically have been in the year of 1545. After that no dates are given in chapters 133–137, in which the first visit to Japan is related. Only so-and-so many days are mentioned, adding up to five and a half months in chapter 134. If the story is continuous—and there is, on the whole, a continuity of events throughout the *Peregrinação*—this first visit to Japan should have taken place in 1545 and, as a result, he could not have been on the junk that reached Tanegashima in 1543. Nor are there any dates in the following chapters 138–142, which relate the adventures on the Ryukyu Islands. Then two chapters later, in chapter 144, Pinto writes that he left Malacca for Sumatra on 9 January 1545. If the dates given by Pinto himself are to be trusted, the conclusion must be that his first visit to Japan did not take place until in late 1545, or in 1546, when according to the *Peregrinação*, he visited Japan for the second time.⁶³ He was then on Jorge Alvares' ship.

The reader also finds it strange that no mention is made of the first visit when Pinto arrives at Tanegashima during the second journey to Japan. Nautaquim comes on board, but it is not mentioned that they have met before. Thereupon arriving in Bungo, the dramatic events during the first visit are not referred to. It is as if the first visit never had taken place, which is probably true.

The reader of the *Peregrinação* might wonder why the 'kingdom' of Bungo figures so much and is in the center of each of Pinto's visits to Japan. The simple fact is that Bungo came from before 1550 to be the place in Japan where the Portuguese merchants were well received and where the missionary activities of the Jesuits were allowed by Ōtomo Yoshishige—the later Ōtomo Sōrin⁶⁴—after Xavier's visit in 1551. Reading Luís Frois it

becomes notable that Bungo became the centre from where the missionaries could relatively peacefully expand their activities to other places, first of all on Kyushu and then to Kyoto and other places in Japan. Father Cosme de Torres and other fathers built churches and set up a hospital and a school there without meeting the hostilities that they encountered in many other places. This was entirely due to the benevolence of Ōtomo Sōrin who in the end became a Christian himself (in 1578). Luís Frois emphasizes again and again that, if it had not been for the mildness and goodness of the king, the situation would have been different. Luís Frois also quotes Ōtomo Sōrin to have said in 1563 that his kingdom was poor and limited to Bungo until the Portuguese priests, especially Francis Xavier, had come some thirteen years earlier but that now Bungo was rich and comprised five provinces. Thus, he gave the priests and Christianity the credit for his successes. He could also have given some credit to the merchants who brought the musket.⁶⁵ It is therefore natural that Portuguese merchantmen came more regularly to the capital of Bungo (Funai, today's Ōita) than to other ports of Japan in the early years of Portuguese trade, and that it was to Bungo that Pinto came as a merchant probably several times, since trade and missionary work went hand in hand.⁶⁶ It is therefore natural that he included Bungo in all his reported four visits to Japan and that his narrative concentrates on this province of Japan while the rest of Japan is practically not mentioned (except for Tanegashima, which is in first centre during the first visit and touched upon also during his second and fourth visits).

The *Teppōki* is final proof. The names of the two Portuguese mentioned there do not match the name Mendes Pinto, which can be easily transcribed to Japanese syllables. (More difficult Portuguese names are well transcribed in *kana* in later Japanese sources.) If he had made the flamboyant impression as expressed in the *Peregrinaçam*, he ought to have been mentioned in the *Tanegashima kafu* and the *Teppōki*. He is not, and this must lead to the conclusion that his first visit to Japan must be written off as fiction or as a half-fictional account based on information received from others. What remains is a good story, worth reading, as is the rest of the *Peregrinaçam*, for its literary quality, valuable for its free rendition of the arrival of the first Europeans in Japan. It can be regarded as one of the early European novels, written before Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, even though printed after (in 1614). It is, in a sense, an early picaresque novel of the Baron von Münchhausen genre with the marked difference that Pinto survives many more deadly situations than Baron von Münchhausen. Mendes Pinto perfected the art of falsifying events in a way never surpassed in literature. João Rodrigues Tçuzzu was correct when he wrote in 1633:

Fernão Mendes Pinto in his book of Figments tries to make out that he was one of these three [discoverers], and that he was aboard their junk, but it is false, as are many other things in his book, which he seems to have composed more as a pastime than to tell the truth; for there is not a kingdom nor event in which he does not pretend to have been.⁶⁷

What makes Pinto different from most or all of other Portuguese merchants and adventurers was that he could write. This is also proven by the few letters we have from his hand. He knew his Portuguese and could write in a style not surpassed before or after

him. And his general description of what a merchant adventurer could be exposed to in the East can hardly be surpassed. One would like to finish with this French eulogy of Pinto:

Pinto découvre l'exotisme du vocabulaire, l'exotisme de l'image, la description composite et bigarrée faite de réminiscences et d'un astucieux assemblage de citations extraites des voyageurs..., l'exotisme psychologique à la Mérimée, l'emploi du pittoresque pour le pittoresque en forçant, à dessein, les effets de singularité, enfin de dépaysement par l'opposition des croyances. Il a inventé plus de procédés qu'il n'a vulgarisé d'informations neuves. On le diminue quand on le suppose naïf, on le trahit lorsqu'on prétend l'embrigader. Dégageons-le de la foule des cosmographes et les ethnographes. Traitons-le, ce n'est que justice, en précurseur méconnu. Il n'a pas eu d'imitateurs directs, étant venu trop tôt C'est dans l'histoire littéraire et non dans l'histoire des explorations qu'il doit reprendre son rang, lequel, malgré les critiques fondées du P.Schurhammer et du pasteur Haas, reste éminent.⁶⁸

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Record of the Kunitomo Teppōki (Kunitomo teppōki)—a Translation

About these events [the two T'ang scholars] Wei-cheng (581–643) and Fang Hsüan-ling (578–648) were the first to write.¹ Now they knew both that literature can unravel Heaven and that arms can tame the Earth. When you have arms but not literature, you do not have what it takes to defend the borders. And when you have literature but not arms, you are incapable of warding off disorder. This is what the ancient people said. Is this not true? Therefore, although weapons, on the one side, may seem dangerous, they are, on the other, the divine military means to enhance virtue. The spirit of Heaven holds the sword with both hands and even diminutive (*sanjaku*) men all do the same. In an age of grand peace the bows are not used; they are stored away in armouries. Now, as for the *teppō* and the beginning of its use, when in ancient times the southern barbarian country *Ch'uan-tu-lieh-tun-na* (Jpn. Sento-retton-na) paid respect to the king's ancestors in the land of *Huan-ma-ni-ya-kuo*² (Jpn. Kōma-nioku-koku), a little girl threw an orange which hit a sheep from a distance. The flying orange, miraculously, hit the eyes of the sheep and made it blind. The barbarians were greatly surprised and frightened, thinking that the flying stone had killed a living being. They constructed this weapon which also appeared at the Ming Court. On Mount Yang lived the Sheng Demon (Sheng-kuei, Jpn. Shōki). It is not known how many people were killed by this demon. At this time a man knew the wondrous art of the *teppō*. He closed in on the Sheng Demon and killed (*taiji*) it. And so forth.

When the Mongols came from the land of Great Yüan (China) to Kyushu in the Kōan era (1278–87), the *teppō* fire from their crafts made the Tsukushi (i.e. Kyushu) army of several tens of thousands of men suffer losses of dead and injured. The divine wind (*kamikaze*) destroyed the ships of the enemy, and the barbarian soldiers drowned and sank to the bottom of the sea, and our country was saved. However, although the Japanese (*wajin*) entreated the barbarians about the usage of this weapon, their wish was not complied with.

It was not until in the first year of the Bunki era (1501–03) and the seventh year of the Eisei (1504–20)—i.e. in 1501 and 1510—that the southern barbarian countries brought it anew, but again the wondrous art was not transferred in full detail. Therefore, people who could use it were rare.

Thereupon, on the 25th day of the eighth month of Tenbun 8 (1539),³ a big ship from a southern barbarian land stranded at Tanegashima in (Gūshū) Ōsumi Province. It anchored at Nishinomura Bay. There were more than 100 barbarian traders on board. They came ashore and encountering people on the shore, they were asked what country they came from but what they said was not understood and the people were completely (*hihi*) dumbfounded. On the same ship a Ming Confucian scholar, Gohō (Ch. Wu-feng), was a

passenger. He descended from the ship and, upon enquiry, was told that the lord of the island was the grandson of Sagami Jirō Tokiyuki⁴ and that his name was Tanegashima Byōbu no jō Tokitaka.⁵ The chieftain Oribe Tokimasa met Gohō and wrote with a stick in the sand, ‘Who are you, guests from the sea?’ Gohō wrote in the same manner with a stick in the sand and answered: ‘I am Gohō, a lay Confucian scholar from Great Ming (China). I asked to be a passenger on the ship from a southern country with traders to return to my land. Other guests on the ship are barbarians who have no knowledge of the Way of the Five Human Relations. Physically they are close to beasts (*kinjū*), they cannot speak or write (Chinese)’. And so forth.

At this point this conversation ended. Then it was added: ‘Here the water is shallow and it is not suitable for harbouring a big ship. But 13 *ri* from here there is a big harbour, Akōgi, and you should without delay sail there’. Accordingly, on the 27th day of the same month, the big ship weighed anchor and arrived in the harbour [of Akōgi]. As soon as they arrived, Lord Tokitaka came and met them.

A priest from the province of Hyūga, Chū Shusa, lived at Ryūgenji Temple and was asked to have written conversation (*hitsudan*) with Gohō. On this occasion the leader among the southern barbarians, Murashukusha, carried a three-shaku *teppō* which could emit fire.⁶ It sounded like the thunder god and there was not a stone or cliff so hard that it was not smashed. It was asked what this was. Was it not the astonishing tool of a divine art? There was no reply. At the time Tokitaka had his doubts but was eager to learn about it. [He felt that] it was the heavenly tool/weapon needed in the later age of Japan (*nihon massei*) to drive away evil and repel insincerity, to exhaust strength and loyalty for the ruler of the country.

Lord Tokitaka begged the barbarian leader repeatedly and politely to obtain [the *teppō* as] a present. The barbarian was deeply impressed with his courteous sincerity and granted it to him. The lord was taught as follows:

Now in the art of the *teppō* three rules must be remembered. First, you must have an upright heart and a mind that knows no evil. Second, you must have a straight body and nurse a pure life force (*ki*). Third, your eyesight must be fine and minute. These are the three rules. Generally, military strategy is transferred from heart to heart. When one’s heart is upright, it brings order to one’s spiritual mind (*kishin*). When eyes and mind are one, the divine usage and art can immediately be realized. You always carefully measure (the feet and inches) the distance by yourself and the truth of Heaven (*tenri*) shall hit the target for you. When your eyes are open, you see what is close by; with one eye closed, you see what is far away. Urging and straining yourself, there is no target that cannot be hit. Indeed, having acquired this secret art, one can apply it to the weapon.

Two *teppō* were presented to Lord Tokitaka and he was jubilant. This was really a treasure! On the 9th day of the 9th month of the same year, shooting was done for the first time at Swan Island. His retainer (*baishin*) Sasakawa Koshirō Tokishige trained from morning to evening and this resulted in his ability to hit 100 times out of 100 shots (*sic*). Afterwards Lord Tokitaka gave the *teppō* to Lord (*taishu*) Shimazu Shūri Taifu Yoshihisa

Ason⁷ who was deeply impressed. In truth [he expressed] that one loves arms because, in the end, they are the heavenly means which achieve the grand peace of the realm (*tenka taihei*).

[Thereupon,] Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu⁸ received (it) the *teppō* as a present on the 2nd day of the 12th month of Tenbun 8 (10 January 1540) [from Lord Shimazu Takahisa]. After that, also Suginoobō, a priest from Negoro Temple in Kii Province, came over to Tanegashima, where, looking for the *teppō*, he turned to Abbot (*chōrō*) Shimobe no Shinbō,⁹ and Lord Tokitaka gave him a *teppō*. Further, [Lord Tokitaka] called a number of smiths on this island and others from neighbouring districts and villages and ordered them to manufacture (it) the *teppō*. However, they did not manage the screwing technique and what they created was imperfect.

Another barbarian ship arrived the next year. On board was a blacksmith who could impart this technique in detail. All people cheered and said: 'This means grand peace for our country. Our great god Hachiman (*Hachiman Daijin*) has manifested his spiritual efficacy!' A blacksmith on the island, Kinbee Kiyomasa, worked hard and forged and manufactured several thousands of *teppō*.

The *teppō* spread all over (Tsukushi) Kyushu. At that time, a man from Sakai in (Senshū) Izumi Province, Tachibanaya Matasaburō, studied iron work and learned to use the *teppō*. Thus, the *teppō* was allowed to spread farther.

At that time a *yamabushi* priest from (Sōshū) Sagami Province, Tamaryū no bō, returning home over the mountains, bought one *teppō* and brought it as a present to Hōjō Sakyō Taifu Ujiasu.¹⁰ This was the first time that the *teppō* was made known in Odawara and the way it reached the province of (Gōshū) Ōmi Province in the 2nd month of Tenbun 13 (1544).

In a declaration, Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu said that in an earlier year (*sennen*) the *teppō* had been brought from a southern barbarian country to Tanegashima in (Gūshū) Ōsumi Province; it had been studied and cast, but only in a small number not sufficient to ward off a great enemy. In his declaration he therefore asked that all smiths in the country be called to manufacture (*teppō*) muskets. Minister [Hosokawa] Harumoto (1519–63)¹¹ was ordered to search for the smiths.

At the time, at Kunitomo [Village] in the Sakada District of (Gōshū) Ōmi Province, there were [four] very esteemed smiths with the names Kunitomo Zenbee, Tōkyūsaemon, Hyōeshirō and Suke-dayu.¹² Besides, there were expert iron workers to whom Harumoto brought Lord Yoshiharu's declaration and order.

[They said,] 'Indeed we are iron experts, but the production of the *teppō* is something new. How can we possibly manage it? We have no idea about it, but if we are allowed to have the original *teppō* as a model, we may make it in cooperation together with people who have iron work as their family profession.' This reached the ears of Hosokawa Harumoto and, as Lord Yoshiharu felt likewise, they were furnished with a *teppō*. As a result, the above-mentioned four men and the iron specialists from the outside cudgelled their brains for days and nights, and with sincere minds over a number of days they manufactured two *teppō*, but they could not manage the end screw (*neji*). At their wits' end, one among the iron experts, Jirō no Suke, then rolled the cutting edge of a dirk (*kogatana no hasaki*) through a *daikon*, thus boring a helical passageway.¹³ This method (*dōri*) solved the problem and the *neji* technique was realized. Two *teppō* were cast for

bullets of six *momme* (*rokumedama*)¹⁴ and on the 20th day of the 8th month of Tenbun 13 (7 September 1544) they were presented to Shogun Yoshiharu. Continuing their work, they perfected their technique, and forged a number of *teppō*, which they gave as presents [to Shogun Yoshiharu].

Afterwards, in the 18th year of Tenbun (1549) Lord Oda Nobunaga (1534–82) showed much valour and a courageous heart. He heard about the power of the *teppō* (*teppō no ikioi*), that there was not an iron mountain or an iron wall that was not smashed by it, and he was much excited. He desired to know about its usage and learn how to shoot it.

At that time, a man with the name of Hashimoto Ippa had learned to shoot a *teppō*.¹⁵ He was trained and accomplished and he had a name in the world. His reputation reached Lord Nobunaga who called him to be his teacher. Shooting with the *teppō* was done with much fervour and much drill.

Over and over again Lord Nobunaga repeated that the number of *teppō* were too few, and the iron workers and the *teppō* specialists were ordered to step up their efforts. Ichiyū received the command that all kinds of preparations should be made and since quick action was asked for, instructions were sent to Kunitomo village in Ōmi Province, i.e., to Kunitomo Zenbee, Hyōeshirō, Sukedayu and Tōkyūsaemon in Kunitomo in (Gōshū) Ōmi Province. These four men undertook the work together with the iron experts, and 500 *teppō* for six-*momme* bullets were manufactured. On the 18th day of the 7th month of Tenbun 18 (10 August 1549), they received the order from Lord Nobunaga through Hashimoto Ippa, and on the 21st day of the 10th month of Tenbun 19 (30 October 1550) the *teppō* were finished.

Later on the 17th day of the 1st month of the 2nd year of Genki (12 February 1571), the lord of Nagahama Castle in (Gōshū) Ōmi Province, Kinoshita Tōkichirō (= Toyotomi Hideyoshi) was ordered [by Oda Nobunaga]:

Now your residence is Nagahama Castle which by lucky chance is located close to the Kunitomo iron specialists who know in detail the art of producing it [the *teppō*]. In recent years a number of wonderful *teppō* weapons were manufactured, but the bullets were light and of no use when shot from afar. If made bigger, I think they would instantly be efficient, even if shot from a castle tower (*taishu no yagura*). Indeed, in these years much enmity and large-scale fighting in all provinces occur, everyone makes war, kills and conquers, but although people make horses sweat, it does not herald the sustenance of all people of our land comparable to our military prowess. Thus, the *teppō*, unprecedented and unmatched from the divine age, was formerly brought by southern barbarians. Even if Hachiman Daibosatsu causes peace to come, it was the virtue of the great shining god of mercy, Amaterasu, that brought it about. At the time, however, no one had yet a deep insight into how to use this divine weapon. Could it truly be the superior weapon for the true general? Bring this message to the Kunitomo iron specialists!

Being so ordered, Lord Hideyoshi returned in a hurry to Nagahama Castle. There he at once summoned Tōkyūsaemon, Hyōeshirō, Zenbee and Sukedayu, and informed them in detail about Lord Nobunaga's order. They returned to Kunitomo, and with all their

strength they cast two 9-*shaku*-long *teppō* cannon (that is, about 2.7 metres) for 200-*momme* shot.¹⁶ They were truly perfect and exquisite pieces without a blemish. This was in haste reported to Nagahama. Lord Hideyoshi ordered *ninsoku* menials [to transport them] and on the 6th day of the 11th month of Genki 2 (22 December 1571) they were presented at Gifu [to Lord Nobunaga]. Lord Nobunaga's happiness was unending. He immediately asked for them to be demonstrated. And from his horse, he watched people shoot them. In mountains and valleys the shot smashed through every cliff. Truly the art of the great firearm, that is, the cannon (*ōzutsu*), made people raise eyes and brows in surprise.¹⁷

At the time Lord Nobunaga came down with a statement:

For the first time we have two cannon that do not come from China but have their origin in our country. Also in the Three Kingdoms (Korea), they have no miraculous weapon to be compared with it. Really, it was the iron masters at Kunitomo who did the unprecedented work; their glory shall last until the end of our age'.

One of the two cannon was handed over immediately to the above-mentioned four as a model (*kiku to shite*). Until this day, Kunitomo Heishirō has kept it. This was the beginning of the cannon in our country.

Now, in his great happiness Lord Nobunaga reported this to (Retired) Emperor Ōgimachi'in,¹⁸ and was honoured to receive the Fuji crest (*Fuji no go-mon*) with the two Chinese characters, *chōtō*. This was the convention and with this precedent, today the name of *chōtō* is given to the *teppō* forged at Kunitomo and presented to the emperor.

Later the grand spiritual lord Minamoto (*Minamoto Daijin-kun*, that is, Tokugawa Ieyasu) wielded military authority in the world and had the 'Five Central Provinces' (*Goki*) and the 'Seven Roads' (*Shichidō*)—that is, all Japan—united. Having heard about the Kunitomo artisans' eminent skill, from Keichō 5 or 6 (1600–01), Kunitomo Suke-dayu, Hyōeshirō, Zenbee and Tōkyūsaemon were called to produce great and small *teppō*, which were presented to him. In the 11th year of the same era (1606), these four artisans were called to Sunpu Castle and ordered to make big and small *teppō*. They were asked to work in a hurry and manufacture as ordered. Moreover, a *daikan* official was appointed to be generally (*hitotōri*) in charge of the *teppō* making.

At this time it was considered that the names of two of the four men were difficult to pronounce; so Hyōeshirō was changed to Heishirō and Tōkyūsaemon to Tokusaemon. The message was handed over by Naruse Hayato no shō Masanari (1567–1625).¹⁹ Truly, people raised their brows in surprise.

In the 18th year of the same era (1613),²⁰ Udaijin Hideyori rebelled at Osaka. In the early winter, the forces from Edo and Sunpu reached (Sesshū) Settsu province.²¹ Over and over again cannon (*ishibiyā*)²² and hundreds of small firearms (*kozutsu*) were allocated to the Osaka Campaign. All together, muskets and cannon numbered 20,000 pieces. The foot soldiers had their orders: to conquer the strong fortress. In the fortress there was great fear. Then in the last month of the same year, there was a reconciliation (*waboku*). In their happiness, they put away the *teppō* and arrows and filled the moats (*kutsugō*).²³ And both lords (Ieyasu and Hidetada) broke up from their military camps.

The next year Lord Hideyori again rose in rebellion. The two great lords were not able to prevent it. Once again the flags swayed and the blades of the swords gleamed. Leading the princes (*shokō*) and the lords (*ryōshu*), with an army of several 100,000 men on horses, [Ieyasu and Hidetada] set up their headquarters in Nanba.²⁴

In the end, in the first year of Genna (1615), Osaka Castle fell. Lord Hideyori committed *seppuku*. Both shoguns (Ieyasu and Hide-tada) returned home. During both campaigns, the afore-mentioned four smiths participated in the fighting. Therefore, returning on the road from Osaka, at Nagahara in (Gōshū) Ōmi Province, they— Zenbee, Heishirō, Sukedayu, and Tokusaemon—were called into the presence of the grand spiritual lord (Ieyasu) with Tsuchii Ōi no suke Toshikatsu acting as the intermediary. The shogun praised their loyalty in these campaigns, and they received land in the Kunitomo Village of their province amounting to 900 *koku*²⁵ in perpetuity and were afforded [samurai] rank and dignity (*menboku*). They afterwards accompanied (*gubu*) the shogun to Suribari Inn,²⁶ where they took their leave. He rewarded them with 10 silver coins (*hakugin*) and it has become customary that, at the time of alternate service (*kōdai no setsu*), they receive this much travel money.

Here the story about how the Japanese cannon (*Nippon-daiteppō*) was first made in Kunitomo in Gōshū (Ōmi Province) comes to an end.

Gōshū, Sakada District, Kunitomo,

Go-teppō intendants (*daikan*):

Ōshima Zenbee

Tominaga Tokusaemon

Nakamura HeishirōWakisaka Sukedayu

Dated: In the 3rd month of the 10th (Mizunoto) Tori (cock') year, of Kan'ei (1633) (no day given).

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Kunitomo Teppōki—a Discussion

The *Kunitomo teppōki* chronicle tells how the musket was introduced in East Asia and Japan beginning with a preamble that attempts to put the story in a historical perspective, although in an imaginary fashion. The first facts and dates can be described as utter fantasy, but as the chronicle continues, it becomes more trustworthy when it relates how the musket reached Tanegashima and from there spread all over Japan. The opening paragraph may be regarded as a typical Chinese introduction that helps set the tone for the work as a whole and lead the reader into the main themes, that is, the story of the introduction of the musket and the subsequent production of cannon in Japan.

The Kunitomo smiths are at the centre, and their rôle may be somewhat exaggerated but the work seems, on the whole, to be a true narrative about the smiths and iron workers there who came to play an important role in the unification process that took place from Oda Nobunaga, via Toyotomi Hideyoshi, to Tokugawa Ieyasu. It is surprising that the Kunitomo smiths are not mentioned in either the *Teppōki* or the *Tanegashima kafu*. It is quite certain, however, that the author of the *Kunitomo teppōki* had a copy of either at hand, since the presentation of the arrival of the first Portuguese and other matters coincide considerably in the three works.

It must be noted that the work was written by the Kunitomo Elders in 1633, some ninety years after the arrival of the first Portuguese, and it is natural that the tradition must have suffered change over some three generations. Therefore it is difficult to see it as a totally accurate and complete description of the beginning of *teppō* manufacture at Kunitomo Village. It seems that manufacture did not start there until 1553–55, and this might explain why the author of the *Teppōki* does not mention Kunitomo.¹ Doubts may also be expressed about the dates until 1571, when an order for the production of ordnance was forthcoming and the two cannon were presented to Oda Nobunaga at Gifu in the following year. This last event can be corroborated. It took place following the Battle of Anegawa (1570), after which Oda Nobunaga had Ōmi province and Kunitomo Village partly under his control.²

Not surprisingly, the Mongol invasion in 1281 is mentioned first. It was at that time that explosives—which are illustrated in the *Mōko-shūrai-ekotoba*, a picture scroll about this invasion³—were used and given the name *teppō*. Apparently this invasion, and the new weapon used by the Mongols, were much remembered at the time of the arrival of the first Portuguese and the *teppō* used by the Mongols is mistakenly considered the first firearm used in Japan. Thereupon, it is wrongfully mentioned that southern barbarians arrived in the Bunki era (1501–03).

The arrival of the musket to Tanegashima, an event which is verified by reliable historical sources, is also dated wrongly as having taken place in 1539. The month and day are as in other sources, the 25th day of the 8th month, but the year should be put four

years later, that is, 1543. What follows runs like a paraphrase of the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*. A big ship from a southern barbarian land is driven by storm to Nishinomura Bay on the southeastern tip of Tanegashima. The 100 people on board cannot be understood, but a Chinese scholar, Wu-feng (Jpn. Gohō), can write Chinese in the sand and the local samurai, Oribe Tokimasa,⁴ can reply and converse, equally with a stick in the sand. Gohō is introduced as a Confucian scholar and the (two) western barbarians are described in not too complimentary terms: ‘Physically they are close to beasts and they cannot speak or write’. They are advised to sail the ship to the capital of the island, Akōgi, where they will enter an adequate harbour. This is done and there, on the 27th day of the same month, they meet the lord of the island, Tokitaka, who comes on board. The lord notices the weapon that the leader of the barbarians is carrying, becomes curious and asks about it. The barbarian is impressed by his sincerity and one or two muskets are given to him. Lord Tokitaka’s gratitude is limitless, and he wants a demonstration without further ado. This was consequently a demonstration that was a beginning in Japanese history—probably the first shot fired on the Japanese islands. That Lord Tokitaka paid the respectable sum of 2,000 ryō for the two *teppō* is not mentioned in the *Kunitomo teppōki*—nor is it in the *Teppōki* or *Tanegashima kafu*.

One of the muskets soon found its way to Lord Shimazu (Takahisa), the daimyo of Satsuma, and from him to Shogun Yoshiharu (r. 1521–45) in Kyoto. The date given is the 2nd day of the 12th month of Tenbun 8 (that is, 10 January 1540) but while the year is probably again miswritten and should be 1544, the month and day might be correct. There is therefore the possibility that Shimazu Takahisa rather quickly forwarded the musket that he had received to the shogun and that the shogun received it as early as on 10 January 1544. This may prove the close connection with the lord and the shogun even in *sengoku* times.

It should be noted that the *teppō* were also delivered by other daimyo to the shogun. We know that Ōtomo Sōrin, the Bungo daimyo, sent *teppō* as presents to Shogun Yoshiteru who seems to have taken as much interest in the new weapon as Sōrin himself.⁵ Further, we read that the Satsuma daimyo, Shimazu Takahisa (1514–71) sent no less than five *teppō* to Shogun Yoshiharu, the first being the one in early 1544. At least one *teppō* was also sent from Hirado, so the shogun must have ended up with quite a collection of *teppō*. They were, however, probably promptly transmitted to smiths in Kyoto, Kunitomo, Hino⁶ and other places to be copied and mass-produced. In the complicated political situation in Kyoto at the time, the shogun needed any new weapon that could strengthen his position. At the same time he was anxious to learn about gunpowder and he asked for saltpetre to be delivered from Sakai in 1552. As already noted above, already in 1549 he knew about ‘the way to mix the matchless powder for the *teppō*’. We can imagine that a brisk production of Japanese muskets took place as we enter the 1550s and that Oda Nobunaga soon profited from it.

1544 was also the year of the arrival of the second ship, on which there was a Portuguese who could help with the making of the first Tanegashima musket. A guess is that muskets were among the merchandise on this ship. If the conjectured delineation is correct, the priest Suginoō of the Negoro Temple received the *teppō* from Lord Tokitaka afterwards, brought to him by Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō. A middleman, Abbot Shimobe no Chōrō, is not mentioned in the *Teppōki* or the *Tanegashima kafu*. Neither of those latter

two works mention that Suginobō came in person to Tanegashima. Further, a merchant from Sakai, Tachibanaya Matasaburō, learned about the musket on Tanegashima and brought the new art to Sakai. It can be assumed that he had a copy of the Tanegashima *teppō*, or a newly imported musket with him when he returned to Sakai.

The *Kunitomo teppōki* then mentions that a *yamabushi* priest from Sagami Province, Tamaryū no bō—not mentioned in the *Teppōki* or the *Tanegashima kafu*—bought a musket in Sakai which he brought to the Odawara lord, Hōjō Ujiyasu. By this route, according to the *Kunitomo teppōki*, it became also known in Ōmi Province in the 2nd month of Tenbun 13 (1544). It is said in a Tokugawa source, *Sakai kagami*, that Tamaryū no bō brought the *teppō* as early as 1510 from Sakai to Odawara. Neither of these dates, 1510 and 1544, are probable and we can only hope that new documentation will reveal who this Tamaryū no bō was and whether he played a role in the diffusion of the new weapon.⁷ It is only logical that it took some time for the new weapon to reach the eastern Kanto region.⁸ The *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* tradition ought to be trusted when they state that the knowledge of the *teppō* spread from Tanegashima to the the Kansai region and from there to the Kantō region and Eastern provinces.

The long introduction can be seen as a free rendering of the arrival of the *teppō* to Tanegashima, leading to the main subject of the account, the Kunitomo smiths and their manufacture of *teppō* muskets and the first cannon produced in Japan. From about 1544 it is also the story about the role of the *teppō* in the unification process in late *sengoku* times. The *teppō* was to play a leading role as it, via Shogun Yoshiteru, came into the hands of Oda Nobunaga. It signalled the beginning of the end of the age of war. The latter felt that the number of *teppō* fabricated on Tanegashima alone was insufficient for the ‘defence’ of Japan and therefore wanted large-scale *teppō* production in the Kyoto area. Therefore he asked his minister Hosokawa Harumoto to undertake the promotion of *teppō* manu—facture. Accordingly, Hosokawa called on the eminent smiths Zenbee, Tōkyūsaemon, Hyōeshirō and Sukedayu in Kunitomo village of Sakada District in Ōmi Province and summoned them together with a number of iron specialists.

They responded that although they were iron specialists and smiths, they needed to have a *teppō* in order to make copies. The shogun understood the logic of this demand and handed over (one of) the *teppō* he had received. Still there were problems. They could not figure out the end mechanism. A skilled technician, Jirō no Suke, developed the radish (*daikon*) method of drilling a helical passage for a screw and afterwards they managed to forge the first two *teppō* on the 12th day of the 8th month of Tenbun 13 (1544), which they proudly presented to Shogun Yoshiharu. The production was continued and a number of *teppō* found the way to the shogun’s (and eventually to Oda Nobunaga’s) arsenal.

The question is whether the first Kunitomo *teppō* was made already in 1544 or about the same time that the smiths on Tanegashima, Negoro and Sakai managed their first *teppō*. Whatever the case may be, whether it was the first or second generation of Japanese *teppō*, the Kunitomo musket was among the first. In contrast to Tanegashima, Negoro and Sakai, we have here a date that might be reliable. In any case, in less than one year after its introduction, the Japanese had managed to copy and produce their own muskets. And at several places! The date, the 12th day of the 8th month of Tenbun 13 (1 September 1544), might be reliable. This would mean that the *teppō* was successfully

produced at not only Tanegashima but also at Negoro, Sakai and Kunitomo less than a year after it had arrived in 1543. If Tanegashima was first, it was quickly followed at these three—and perhaps other—places. And this was just a beginning!

The next section of the *Kunitomo teppōki* concentrates on Oda Nobunaga (1534–82). In 1549, at only 15 years of age, Oda took an interest in strategy, warfare and weapons and when he heard about the *teppō* and that it could smash walls and cliffs, he wished to know more about it and to use it. An accomplished *teppō* man, Hashimoto Ippa, became his teacher and through him contact was made with the Kunitomo smiths and an order went out for 500 *teppō*.⁹

Together with Shogun Yoshiteru, he also issued five rules which, if enforced, gave him a practical monopoly on the *teppō* making at least in central Japan. They were:

1. Urgent official affairs should always be considered important and be promptly executed allowing no obstacles.
2. People engaged as official smiths should be reported when showing disobedience and be disposed of as fits the case.
3. All *teppō* makers in the provinces should hurriedly deliver their finished products upon inspection.
- 4a. If big and small *teppō* are produced in the provinces, they should be delivered promptly.
- 4b. And if the smiths manufacture new firearms, these should be delivered upon investigation.
5. The technique of manufacturing *teppō* should not be divulged to others without permission.

The above five rules must be strictly observed.

The 5th month of Kōchi 3 (1557)¹⁰

This would mean that Oda Nobunaga already then was in such close touch with Kyoto that he could issue regulations together with the fourteenth Muromachi shogun, Yoshiteru. The title of the regulation can also be translated as ‘Rules from Lord Oda Nobunaga, issued by Lord Ashikaga Yoshiteru’. The question is whether it directly concerned the Kunitomo smiths and iron artisans and only indirectly the smiths and artisans in other provinces. In the years that followed, in the middle of constant combat, Oda developed his strategy which centred on foot soldiers and musketry and the Kunitomo smiths were under pressure to make more and better firearms. One of his middlemen and retainers was Kinoshita Tōkichirō, the later Toyotomi Hideyoshi, whose Nagahama Castle was in the vicinity of Kunitomo.¹¹ It was under his surveillance that the Kunitomo smiths cast the first Japanese cannon, two pieces each 9 *shaku* long. They were brought to Oda Nobunaga on the 6th day of the 11th month of Genki 2 (1571) and as the impetuous Oda wished to see them in action, it can be imagined that they were demonstrated and shot the same day. Comments say that these were probably the first two cannon made in Japan. ‘This was the beginning of the cannon in our country’, the *Kunitomo teppōki* states.

The problem is only that the story, as given in the *Kunitomo teppōki*, may again not be entirely correct. It can be questioned whether Nobunaga at 15 years of age (1549) could order 500 muskets to be made and whether he could issue orders in the name of the

shogun in 1557 at 23 years of age.¹² Further it can be questioned whether the Kunitomo smiths had the capacity to undertake such an order. At either time he should according to all sources still have been a small daimyo of no consequence in Owari. It was only after he had routed the Imagawa army in 1560 that he rose to prominence. It can also be asked whether he was in full control of Ōmi Province until in 1573 when Asai Nagamasa (1545–73) and Asakura Yoshikage (1533–73) were finally defeated by Kinoshita Tōkichirō (=Toyotomi Hideyoshi), and forced to commit *seppuku*. Kinoshita Tōkichirō took over Asai's Province, moved to Nagahama Castle in 1573 and acquired daimyo status.¹³ From this time he could have the Kunitomo smiths undertake jobs according to orders from Oda Nobunaga. There is a gray period between 1570, when the Battle of Anegawa ended indecisively and Asai remained the daimyo of Ōmi Province, and 1573 when he was completely defeated and committed suicide.¹⁴ It is possible that Oda Nobunaga was so much in control of Ōmi after Anegawa that he could have had the Kunitomo smiths perform jobs for him, as stated in the *Kunitomo teppōki*.

The fact is, however, that all forward-looking daimyo lost no time in applying a new weapon like the musket. As an auxiliary weapon it was used in the mid-1550s and musket companies (*teppō-tai*) were doubtlessly part of warfare around 1560. For example, it is reported that Takeda Shingen used the *teppō* at Kawanakajima¹⁵ and Oda Nobunaga at Okehazama (see Map 4). The important thing was to be the first both having and using the weapon. He who was first was destined to shape Japan's future. The production of the *teppō* must consequently have been undertaken at a number of places and Kunitomo was certainly only one among them.

Oda Nobunaga was the expert in military strategy who understood the importance of the new weapon quicker than any other daimyo and he moved swiftly to gain control of all the *teppō*-producing locations in central Japan. In the end he had Sakai, Kunitomo, Negoro, Hino, Saiga and other minor arms foundries under partial or full control and could develop a new strategy that was based on a new superior weapon.¹⁶ The result was seen in the Battle of Nagashino in 1575, the milestone in the history of Japanese warfare, when the new weapon decided the outcome. From then onwards, Nobunaga could go from victory to victory and by 1582 he was the master of more than half the provinces of Japan. Only treachery stopped him in this year, and his successors, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), needed only to build on what he had begun.¹⁷ In Hideyoshi's army the samurai carried guns side by side with the *ashigaru* foot soldiers and in the Korean War the muskets stood for the initial successes. It was in the following peaceful age that the samurai indulged in a romantic military past, partly 'giving up the gun'.¹⁸

The firearm brought revolutionary developments in Japanese warfare in the last half of the sixteenth century and was probably the most important factor in the establishment of the centralized state.¹⁹ Artillery is not mentioned in the documents about the Battle of Nagashino and cannot be seen in pictures of the battle. What is documented is that 3,000 musketeers were aligned behind breastworks and that their rotational volley firing stopped the Kai cavalry killing a great number of the mounted men and the horses.²⁰

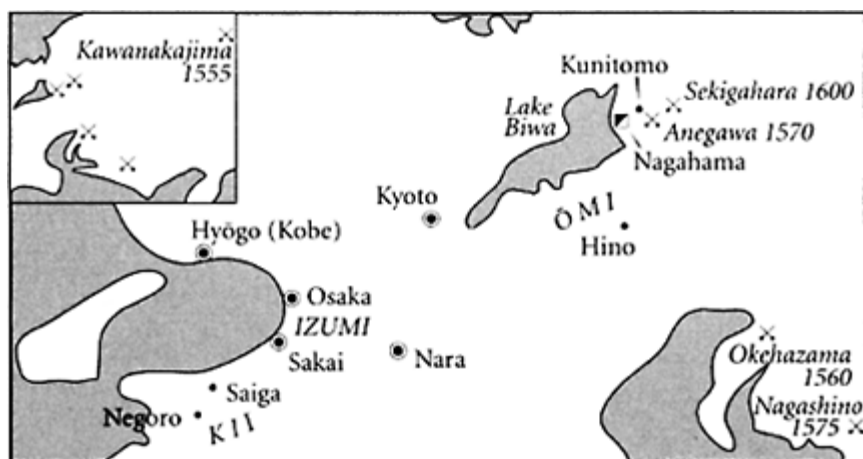
The last section in *Kunitomo teppōki* concerns Tokugawa Ieyasu. The Hideyoshi era is omitted for obvious reasons. Before 1600, Ōmi province was under the control of Ishida Mitsunari (1560–1600), Hideyoshi's general, and after Hideyoshi's death (1598) up to

the Battle of Sekigahara (1600),²¹ the services of the Kunitomo smiths were surely required by the Toyotomi side. After the victory on 21 October 1600, like Oda Nobunaga before him, it took Tokugawa Ieyasu no time to monopolize the Kunitomo smiths. They were asked to work for him and no one else. The four Kunitomo smiths were moreover given fiefs and the title of Elder (*kaji-toshiyori*). This meant that they received the rank and status of samurai. When Ieyasu retired and settled at Sunpu (1607), they were ordered to be at his disposal there. Two years later they were ordered back to Nagahama and over them Ieyasu placed a *daikan* steward, also called *teppō bugyō*, the *Teppō* Commissioner, Naruse Hayato no shō, who was responsible for Kunitomo Village and the over-all administration of the manufacture. The smiths were also tightly organized in status-groups with the four *toshiyori* families on top. Under them were *toshiyori-waki*, the subordinate elders, the *hira-kaji*, the common smiths and under them various groups of technicians. Detailed rules for the production were issued.²² In this manner, the Kunitomo foundries obtained official *bakufu* status, and became more a state institution than the Sakai smitheries which were also severely organized but retained a semi-private status. Thus, starting in 1607, the gun making was under central control and it was mainly under licence from the central government that it could be undertaken. The two great gun-manufacturing centres in Japan from this time were Nagahama and Sakai.

Lastly the Kunitomo story narrates how the four smiths participated in the Osaka Campaigns of 1614 and 1615, and how they afterwards had an audience with Ieyasu in Ōmi. They were on this occasion praised for their bravery, received a 900-*koku* fief in Kunitomo, and were made samurai and retainers of the Tokugawa house. Their families remained as such until the end of the Tokugawa era, that is, for some 250 years.

The Keichō era around 1600 represented the height of prosperity for Kunitomo village and its smiths when, as said, the production of firearms and cannon took place at not less than 73 foundries and that, all in all, about 500 artisans were engaged.²³ It is natural, however, that with peaceful times the demand for firearms diminished. The prosperity of Kunitomo village and the smiths waned as the orders did not come in, and it can be surmised that the skill of the smiths also declined. We find it written in the *Kunitomo kikō* ('The Kunitomo Travel') that only 20 foundries remained in late Tokugawa times and that merely four or five among them were able to cast cannon.²⁴ This was the situation after a long time of peace. Throughout the Tokugawa era, however, Kunitomo remained a primary factory and arsenal of weaponry directly attached to the shogunate.

The *teppō* reached southwestern Japan in the middle of the turbulent *sengoku* war era in which daimyo lords exercised independent local power. Its arrival was to signal the ultimate end of this age of war. Thus it played an epoch-making role, as it paved the way for a new united Japan, which found its final order under Tokugawa leadership from 1600.



Map 4: Detail map of central Honshu

CHAPTER NINE

Teppō production at Sakai

At the time that the first shot was fired on Tanegashima, according to the *Teppōki*, a merchant's apprentice from Sakai in Izumi Province was visiting Tanegashima. His name was Tachibanaya Matasaburō and he learned to use the *teppō* with such perfection that, upon his return to Sakai, everyone called him not by his real name but with the nickname Teppōmata, 'The *Teppō* Master'.¹ He understood that this was something important and transferred the knowledge of the new weapon and possibly also the weapon to Sakai. It would be interesting to know how news was conveyed—and how quickly—in those earlier times. It seems that important communications were transmitted with amazing speed. It can therefore be surmised that the tidings about the new weapon were reported within months, even weeks, to his superiors in Sakai by way of sea and land. The question is how soon he could have also acquired the weapon itself. The sources do not mention how but the fact is that a *teppō* of one origin or another reached Sakai by 1544 and we may assume that Tachibanaya Matasaburō was instrumental in bringing it.

Sakai was known for its ironwork and manufacture of temple bells, and swords marked 'forged in Sakai' (*sakai-tanji*) were highly valued.² Nevertheless, there was no one who could manage the special technique of the *teppō* mechanism. It was probably again the end screw of the barrel that was the problem. It is mentioned that Shibatsuji Seiemon—a native of Sakai—was called from Negoro, where he lived temporarily, and that he manufactured the first Sakai *teppō* in co-operation with Tachibanaya Matasaburō.³ Shibatsuji was an able and distinguished smith and he and the successors within the family came later to be counted among the great *teppō* smiths in the annals of Japan. He had earlier learned the technique from Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō who had brought the Portuguese musket from Tanegashima to Negoro.

The first Sakai *teppō* was probably finished in 1544, that is, about the same time as the first *teppō* were manufactured in Negoro and Kunitomo. The question is therefore: which came first, the Tanegashima, Negoro, Sakai or Kunitomo *teppō*? The Solomonic solution would possibly be to conclude that they were forged at about the same time. Common sense would indicate that the Tanegashima *teppō* came first, closely followed by the Negoro and Sakai *teppō* and that the Kunitomo *teppō* came last among the four. And logic would suggest that the first Negoro *teppō* was manufactured before the first Sakai *teppō*.⁴ We have a reasonably safe date for the first Kunitomo *teppō*—the 20th day of the 8th month of Tenbun 13 (7 September 1544)—the date when the first Kunitomo *teppō* was presented to the shogun. Unfortunately, we have no dates for the other early *teppō*. We can only guess that the first Tanegashima *teppō* was produced soon after the arrival of the second *nanbansen* in the early summer of 1544, and that the Negoro and Sakai *teppō* were produced later in the same summer. Thus, logically, Tanegashima was first and the laurels go to the smiths on Tanegashima, first among them, Kinbee Kiyosada.

One would like to take liberties with C.Eliot and say that all these four places ‘were collectively responsible for the introduction of firearms into Japan’.⁵

Sakai enjoyed a special position in the feudal landscape of late Muromachi. It was a self-governing ‘free city’ (*jiyū-toshi*) that thrived on commerce and on being the depot port and transshipment city of a hinterland that comprised Kyoto and Nara as well as the domains of about 200 daimyo who rivalled and fought each other.⁶ Sakai had developed into a seaport and an industrial and commercial center in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and became a rich city in the fifteenth century. Especially the Ōnin War (1467–77) ‘marked the beginning of a new age for Sakai and put the city on the path toward becoming the leading port of Japan’.⁷ For example, the Sakai merchants outfitted and sent the three missions of 1476, 1483 and 1493 to Ming China.

Further, Sakai was powerful enough to maintain its own independence. In the sixteenth century (1562) the Jesuit Vilela wrote that ‘[t]he city of Sakai is very extensive, exceedingly thronged with many rich merchants, and governed by its own laws and customs in the fashion of Venice’.⁸ It was used to trade with China and it profited greatly from new foreign commerce after the arrival of the Portuguese. It had become prosperous by being in the centre of an expanding national economy and a wider network of commerce that included imported articles from the Western world. Articles such as the Sakai musket (*sakai-jū*) just added to its prosperity. It prospered further by being in close cooperation with the shogunate and leading families in Kyoto, especially the Hosokawa, who served as the shogun’s deputy *kanryō*. The city itself had no territorial aspirations and whatever military activities it had were of a defensive character, mostly taken care of by mercenary soldiers, often masterless samurai (*rōnin*). In this respect, it differed from Negoro whose militant monks readily signed up as mercenaries with warring factions and participated in offensive warfare.

Sakai became the foremost *teppō* manufacturer of the Kansai area and, according to the *Teppōki*, from there and Negoro, and through the ambiguous Matsushita Gorōsabrō, the knowledge and manufacture of the *teppō* spread to every province of Japan. As it is said in the *Teppōki*: ‘After that all the provinces around the Kinai area learned to use the weapon, transferring the art one to the other. And soon it was not only in the Kinai and Kansai areas but also likewise in the Kantō area that people could use it’.

As Sakai became the prime *teppō* maker (and importer and even exporter), this success became, ironically, the main reason for its downfall as a free commercial city. Oda Nobunaga profited more than anyone else from the *teppō* production. In his programme to unify Japan, however, he also turned against Sakai and over a ten-year period tried in vain to conquer and subordinate the city which was defended by warrior monks equipped with the new firearms.⁹ It did not help that he threatened to annihilate the city if it did not succumb. Finally there came a negotiated peace in 1580 and Sakai became thereafter one of the important foundries for the weapons that secured the unification of Japan. After Oda Nobunaga’s death in 1582, the same weapons facilitated Hideyoshi’s final unification of the islands of Japan in 1590 and his initial successes in Korea.

Tokugawa Ieyasu took no less interest in the Sakai smiths and orders for firearms and cannon were forthcoming regularly until the Osaka Campaigns of 1614–15. Preparing to attack Osaka Castle, he amassed cannon, guns, powder and ammunition. We read of huge cannon and literally thousands of *teppō* being delivered for the Winter and Summer

Campaigns. And these came not only from Kunitomo and Sakai. We also read about his ordering 300 *teppō* from foundries at Hino in Ōmi in 1602 when beginning to prepare for the assault.¹⁰ In his research, Arima Seiho has registered sixteen foundries besides those in Sakai and Kunitomo.¹¹

The official foundries were concentrated at Kunitomo by Tokugawa Ieyasu, but it did not hinder continuation of the *teppō*'s production at Sakai. We even hear of the first exported *teppō* in 1617, when Richard Wickham, a representative of the English East India Company, put together a munitions order for Siam.¹² The order only consisted of 20 weapons—and had to be done in a clandestine manner—but it shows that also in this new field Sakai was ready for trade outside Japan. In Japan, Sakai did much better. 'It began quietly with an average of 290 arms a year in the early 1620s, reached a climax of 2,500 a year in the 1660s, and thereupon permanently dwindled off'. 'The central government never ordered a gun from Sakai after 1668 ...and no one else did after 1696, either.' 'Over the next century the number of gunsmiths gradually shrank from more than thirty to about fifteen, and this handful was supporting itself chiefly with government orders and by making iron farm tools'.¹³ Since the smiths knew the secrets of gunpowder, they could also in peaceful times turn to producing fireworks.¹⁴

After the fall of Osaka Castle in 1615 and thereupon after the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–38, there was no real need for firearms for more than two centuries. The Great Peace (*taihei*) did not work for the smiths. Not only the shogunate but also the daimyo lords found less and less reason to increase their *teppō* arsenals; the sword was the important weapon to be carried by the samurai. (Who ever saw a samurai carrying or shooting a *teppō*?) In the eighteenth century the foundries were in utter distress—both at Sakai and in Kunitomo—and in this situation they were allowed by the authorities to turn to the manufacture of hunting guns and shotguns for people at large and to be engaged in private commerce. This was not enough to make up for the earlier *teppō* manufacture and the families engaged in the foundries decreased, as did the number of foundries themselves. At Kunitomo, the number of foundries, from having been about thirty at the height of production, diminished to six at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁵

CHAPTER TEN

Teppō production at Negoro

If we are to believe the *Teppōki*, the first outsiders to take an interest in the new *teppō* weapon were the martial Negoro monks.¹ These monks were actually warriors rather than monks and remained so until Hideyoshi subdued them in 1585 and had them concentrate on more monastic activities. So we read in the *Teppōki*:

At this time a priest, Suginobō, at Negoro Temple² in Kishū (Kii), who did not consider 1,000 ri far away, asked for one *teppō*. Tokitaka felt sympathy for the sincerity of the man's request and, showing generosity, he said: 'In ancient times the lord of Jo (Ch. Shu)³ took a liking to Kisatsu's s (Ch. Chi-tsa) sword but did not dare to express his wish. Kisatsu, however, knew in his heart what he wanted and in the end gave him the precious sword. My island is certainly small, but why should I be attached to and begrudge one object? Further, I have myself obtained it without asking for it, and I cannot sleep out of happiness, having it hidden under ten wraps (*jūshū*).⁴ What is more, how could I be happy in my heart, if I were so selfish as to keep it when it is asked for? What I like, also others like. How can I then have it alone, well hidden and stored away?' So he sent Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō to bring it and present it to Suginobō and to teach him how to prepare the wondrous powder and how to apply the fire.

In other words, the news about the arrival of the Portuguese and the *teppō* reached the Negoro Temple not long after the arrival of the junk in September 1543, and Abbot Suginobō intuited that this was the new weapon they needed in their military activities. He probably lost no time in sending a missive, asking for the weapon. His agent, Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō, was there when the second *nanbansen* arrived and he could learn both how the *teppō* was produced and how to mix the gunpowder. Tokitaka showed generosity out of the ordinary and sent a *teppō* with Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō as a present to Abbot Suginobō. In the *Kunitomo teppōki*, Suginobō goes to Tanegashima himself and asks for it. This is probably another case when this work is lacking in exactness.

It is quite amazing that Lord Tokitaka should so willingly part with one of the *teppō*. It is possible that he had developed a friendship with Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō while the latter stayed on Tanegashima and that it was because of this friendship that he willingly parted with one *teppō*. It is also possible that he obtained some considerable compensation that is not mentioned in the *Teppōki*, where only his noble heart is mentioned with Confucian rhetorical flourish. The intimate mercantile relations between Tanegashima and both Sakai and Negoro should also not be forgotten⁵ nor underestimated the close relationship with Kumano taisha in Kii. In the *Teppōki* it seems that the presentation of the *teppō* comes early-just after Lord Tokitaka has received the *teppō*, and before any reproduction on Tanegashima has taken place. It is also mentioned before the transaction with

Tachibanaya Matasaburō takes place. The baffling problem is that it seems that Lord Tokitaka gave away both of—or more than—the two *teppō* he originally acquired. One *teppō* seems to have gone via Kagoshima to the shogun, another found its way to Negoro and a third to Sakai. Logically he would also have kept one firearm for himself—and for Kinbee to copy. The solution might be that the guns transferred or bestowed to Negoro and Sakai belonged among the new *teppō* produced in 1544, that is, after the second *nanbansen* brought the smith who could help forge the first tens of *tanegashima teppō*. Another possibility is that firearms were among the merchandise on this ship, registered in the *Tanegashima kafu*, the *Teppōki* and the *Kunitomo teppōki* alike. Since available sources are scanty, it will probably never be possible to ascertain which *teppō* were given to whom and when.⁶

Tradition has it that Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō brought both the *teppō* and the art of *teppō* manufacture to Negoro, and that it did not take long for the trained smiths to copy and manufacture it. The renowned *negoro-shū*, the Negoro monk army, probably wasted no time in introducing it among other weapons used by its 20,000 warriors.⁷ Tsuda had of course recourse to the foundries and black-smiths, already used to making swords and halberds, and thus it can be estimated that the new weapon was ready to be used already in 1544. He also had great help from the well-known Sakai smith, Shibatsuji Seiemon, who happened to be staying at Negoro, and it might be that Tsuda and Shibatsuji together were the fathers of the first Negoro *teppō*. Shibatsuji had therefore the full knowledge of forging a firearm when he was soon called back to father the Sakai *teppō*.⁸ We also soon hear about the Negoro *Teppō* Brigades who were ready to serve as mercenaries. From their ranks came possibly the musketeers who introduced *teppō* warfare in the Kanto region.

The production of weapons at Negoro seems to have been an entirely private matter, whether it concerned arrows, swords, halberds or other weapons. The making of weapons was moreover part of the lives of the monks. Negoro acted as a free temple domain in *sengoku* times and was well-known for its considerable military resources. It was completely independent and served no lord—except its abbots. It can therefore be surmised that *teppō* production also became a private matter and never came under the control of the authorities as at Kunitomo and Sakai. It can be imagined, however, that production came under strict central control after Hideyoshi subdued Negoro in 1585. Muskets were forged, and during the subsequent rule of Tokugawa Ieyasu it seems that Negoro cooperated with Sakai and Kunitomo in the manufacture of guns and artillery.

The basic difference between Negoro and Sakai should be emphasized. At Negoro the musket became another weapon to be used by its mercenary monks.⁹ At Sakai it became another article of merchandise sold to whomever could pay for it.

One can quote Charles Eliot truthfully and say that, 'Negoro was partly responsible for the introduction of firearms into Japan'.¹⁰

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Spread of the Teppō on Kyushu

It is natural that the *teppō* spread early on the island of Kyushu. As the *Kunitomo teppōki* says: 'The *teppō* spread all over (Tsukushi) Kyushu'. If the Tanegashima theory holds water, it is only natural that the new weapon would have reached the daimyo there first. And even if the new weapon were introduced separately at other places, Tanegashima was the island closest to sea traffic; here the Portuguese came first. Indirect evidence is the fact that it was to Kyushu that the Jesuits and the Christian mission also came first. It is reasonable that, after the first encounter on Tanegashima, the Portuguese next sailed to Kyushu's harbours and that presumably the most important merchandise they could offer the martial samurai were firearms and gunpowder. Reading Pinto, it becomes apparent that Bungo became a prime port for the Portuguese merchants and later the Jesuit missionaries. The Ōtomo daimyo welcomed both—and certainly benefited from obtaining the new weapon. It is said that 'Yoshishige (Sōrin) loved the *teppō*',¹ and also that he was 'quick to perceive the immense advantage of the arquebus and of artillery'.² It is a fact that the manufacture of muskets began in earnest after he seized power in 1550. According to H.Motojima he sent a smith by the name of Itō Hachirō to Tanegashima in 1550 who learned to forge *teppō* and returned to Bungo seven years later.³ Also cannon seem to have been part of the arsenal from about 1560. It is evident that Ōtomo Sōrin asked the Portuguese to bring cannon about that time. If this had been realized, Bungo might have been the first province with operational artillery.⁴ In a letter to the Jesuits in China in 1567 he asked for a quantity of saltpetre, for which he would pay handsomely.⁵

It is no surprise then, that Bungo became a forceful and major province on Kyushu for a while under Ōtomo Sōrin, and this must have been because he was quick to perceive the advantage of the new weaponry. It is questionable, however, to what extent cannon could have been used in Japanese strategy. Anyone familiar with Japanese geography will understand how difficult it must have been to bring heavy cannon into operation. On ships and in castles, and in siege warfare, they could be of much use, but in the field they must have been difficult to operate. On the whole, cannon probably never played a crucial rôle in any of the battles fought in sixteenth-century Japan.⁶ As Boxer puts it: 'On the whole it cannot be said that cannon ever exercised a decisive effect in any of the battles fought in Old Japan'.⁷ The cannon is also rarely mentioned in the records and battle reports.⁸ The guess is that artillery did not become much used in Japanese warfare until during the Korean war (1592–98).⁹



Map 5: Kyushu in the late 16th century

It is interesting to note that Sōrin repeatedly sent muskets as presents to Shogun Yoshiteru, who ruled from 1545 to 1565. Muskets sent in 1554 and 1556 were said to be of Portuguese origin, and muskets sent in 1559 and 1560 to have been cast in Bungo and made to order. As already noticed above (page 141), Yoshiteru took the same interest in muskets as Sōrin. It is stated that a certain Watanabe learned the art of forging the musket

directly from a Portuguese whose first name was possibly Francisco. This means that the art of forging guns was divulged separately in the Bungo domain, without being influenced by Tanegashima.¹⁰

When Pinto comes to Bungo during his first purported visit, the daimyo's son takes a disastrous interest in Pinto's musket. Pinto's story is of course a 'romanhafte Schilderung', referring to a later incident, but it affirms that the new weapon was introduced there early and it can be imagined that the smiths in Funai, the capital city of Bungo, soon applied themselves to learning the new technique and making copies. Portuguese stayed there for years and engaged in projects like the making of the *teppō*.¹¹ As a result, a considerable proportion of the Bungo army was equipped with firearms from early on.

The same is reported about Hirado, an island on the northwestern side of Kyushu, where Portuguese vessels came regularly and Portuguese merchants were well received.¹² This island was, like Tsushima, a favourite base for pirates and open to external influences. It is even mentioned together with Tanegashima as the place where Japanese *teppō* were cast early on.¹³ Xavier went there in 1550 from Kagoshima. Later, both the Dutch and English used Hirado as their base—the Dutch from 1609 and the English from 1613—and began the manufacture of ordnance at foundries there. Between the two Houses, the English and the Dutch, there was at first keen rivalry, even warfare, but from 1620 until the English left in 1623 they were allied and this three-year period—when they joined to plunder the Portuguese!—marked the most prosperous period of English and Dutch trade in Japan. From 1570, the rivalry was with the Portuguese at Nagasaki, whom the British merchant Richard Cocks¹⁴ referred to with epithets like the 'villanose papisticall rubble at Langasaque'.¹⁵ The Portuguese, on their side, considered that the Dutch (probably also the English) 'were fit for nothing, save to be burned as desperate heretics'.¹⁶ Between them there was war, plunder and piracy no less than between the *wakō* and the Chinese.

The English and especially the Dutch used cannon, cast at Hirado and later at Nagasaki, together with imported cannon, as presents on their yearly visits to Edo and perhaps also as merchandise. It is reported that the shogunate showed a preference for cannon cast in Europe and would rather have a cannon 'cast in England than ten of such as were ever cast in Japan'.¹⁷ On the other hand, Europeans were impressed by the workmanship of the Japanese gunsmiths. They had made the best swords our world had seen and they would soon evoke the same perfection in gun production. Captain Specs, a British merchant at Hirado, witnessed their work and, astonished, he stated to Richard Cocks that neither workmanship nor materials were inferior to what was found in Europe.¹⁸

It is natural that the Shimazu lords in Kagoshima took a keen interest in and became busy reproducing the *teppō*. They were after all the first to learn about the new weapon since Tanegashima was a subsidiary and the Tanegashima lords certainly reported on and presented *teppō* weapons as soon as they produced them. As stated above, the Shimazu presently sent to the shogun in Kyoto a *teppō* that had been received from Tanegashima, perhaps a musket received from the Portuguese. That the manufacture of the new weapon was considerable on Tanegashima is proven by the fact that Hideyoshi asked for 200 *teppō* instead of a contingent of samurai for his Odawara campaign in 1590. It is reported

that the Jesuits coming to Kagoshima even brought cannon as presents to the daimyo.¹⁹ This daimyo was the energetic and enterprising Shimazu Takahisa who probably lost no time in acquiring and applying the new weapon in his recurrent campaigns to the north and east. The *teppō* is mentioned in Satsuma warfare as early as in 1549, earlier than in other provinces.²⁰ It cannot have been on any large scale, but even a single shot certainly played a role and might have been enough to have a demoralizing effect on the enemy. Shimazu Takahisa welcomed the missionaries as long as he could hope for the new weapons and other benefits. When these were not forthcoming, they were no longer greatly accepted and he irascibly withdrew his favour. It cannot be disputed that it was after the musket had been introduced that the Shimazu, first under Takahisa and then under Yoshihisa, began to bring first Satsuma and thereupon Ōsumi and Hyūga under their control. It must have been a new strategy that embraced the new weapon that made the difference.

The *Teppōki* does not mention the transmission of the *teppō* to Satsuma and Kyushu explicitly, but it is well known from other sources that the Shimazu and Ōtomo daimyo were equipped with firearms by the 1550s. Nor is any direct report on the arrival of the Portuguese and the *teppō* to Satsuma mentioned in the *Tanegashima kafu*.

There is no mention in either the *Teppōki* or *Tanegashima kafu* of any immediate reports to the Shimazu lords at Satsuma about both the Portuguese and the *teppō*. In the *Kunitomo teppōki* the transmission of the *teppō* to Shimazu Yoshihisa is mentioned. No date is given but we can imagine that it was transferred later in the same year, that is, in 1543 and that the reproduction began as quickly there as at other places. This is proven by the fact that, again according to the *Kunitomo teppōki*, a copy of the *teppō* was sent as a present to the shogun, Yoshiharu, which was received on the 2nd day of the 12th month of Tenbun 8 (10 January 1543). One can be suspicious about dates in the *Kunitomo teppōki*, but it is certainly correct when it states that 'the *Teppō* spread all over (Tsukushi) Kyushu. The port of Bōnotsu in southern Satsuma is mentioned as one of the important *teppō* foundries on Kyushu.²¹ Francis Xavier landed at Kagoshima in 1549 and he was not the first Portuguese to arrive there. Before him, we can count on merchants having reached Kagoshima and they certainly did not come without muskets over their shoulders and in their merchandise. For example, Jorge Alvares, who wrote the report for Xavier, had visited southern Satsuma in 1546. It can be imagined that each ship reaching Japan had muskets in its cargo.

It is also noteworthy that the Shimazu lords had had independent mercantile relations with China since at least the early sixteenth century, and it would be strange if their merchants had not encountered *wakō* corsairs equipped with *teppō* before the two Portuguese were stranded on Tanegashima. One thing is sure: the imported *teppō* played a role side by side with the *teppō* manufactured in Japan. One reason why the daimyo turned to their smiths and began their own manufacture was probably that they found the imported firearms too expensive. Another reason could be that they needed *teppō en masse* and in such a situation could only rely on their native artisans.

From Satsuma we can move to Bungo and register a parallel situation. There are two traditions about how the musket reached the province. According to one it was introduced independently by the Portuguese. According to the other it was a smith from Bungo who went to Tanegashima in 1546, learned the technique and returned to Bungo in 1556

where the first *teppō* was produced in 1558. In either case, under Ōtomo Sōrin the new weapon was accepted and it was the new weapon that made the daimyo enlarge the Bungo domain to embrace some five provinces. In the *Ōtomo-ki* it is reported that the Bungo forces mustered 1,200 musketeers in 1564. In the end it was Bungo versus Satsuma and in the final clash at Mimikawa (in 1578) it was the Satsuma muskets that won the day—and Hideyoshi had to be called in with even more muskets and to order in a wider sense. It is no exaggeration to say that it was in all cases the new weapon that created the new order, and the man who had most muskets could dictate the future for the whole country. This man was Hideyoshi.

The conclusion is that it did not take long for a new and superior weapon to be accepted and spread among the daimyo in the *sengoku* war era, first on Kyushu and then throughout Japan. Its manufacture became a major concern, and the lord to use it first in strategy and warfare was sure to be the winner. The era of the great *teppō* production continued until Keichō times (1596–1615), when a Japanese *teppō* was not inferior to a European *teppō*. This situation continued through the seventeenth century and perhaps into the early eighteenth century. The preoccupation with firearms was evidenced by the repeated Dutch presentations (*kenjōmono*) of cannon, mortars and gun-carriages to the Tokugawa shoguns.²² Likewise it was evinced by the many intellectuals who wrote about military matters. Three among them were Yamaga Sokō (1622–85), Arai Hakuseki (1656–1725) and Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728).

The early *teppō* made by the smiths on Tanegashima are referred to as the *teppō* of the *Tanegashima-ryū*, the Tanegashima School. As the production of the new firearm proliferated, other schools spread across Japan; there developed the *Tsuda-ryū* School, the *Jiyūsai-ryū* School, the *Inatomi* School, the *Kunitomo-ryū* School and other *teppō* associations. They formed leagues of sharpshooters that competed with each other in the Tokugawa era.²³ With peaceful conditions and seclusion (*sakoku*) between 1640 and 1853, a stagnation seems to have taken place in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a fact that is affirmed by visitors like Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828) in the years of 1775–77 and Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866) in the years of 1823–29.²⁴ No advances in weaponry were made comparable to what took place in the West about the same time.²⁵ From having been abreast with Europe at the beginning of the Tokugawa era, by its end the Japanese had fallen far behind.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Francis Xavier in Japan

Another great beginning of the West in Japan was the arrival of Father Francis Xavier¹ and with him the Jesuit mission to Kagoshima on 15 August 1549. It was again the Portuguese who led the vanguard of European expansion, and for the next fifty years mainly Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits were to be the predominant Christian missionaries in Japan. The Portuguese were certainly firstly merchants, but with them followed the royal commandment that wherever they came, it was for the Holy Faith and for the Portuguese Empire—‘a Fé e o Imperio’—and in that order.²

Xavier was excited about Japan from the day it was reported that the first Portuguese had reached it in 1543.³ This happened in 1547, and it is said that it was ‘with a great thrill in his heart’ that he received the first definite account about Japan.⁴ He perhaps believed that there was as much to acquire there in the form of souls as Marco Polo had described there to be in gold. Then, meeting Anjiro—the fugitive from Japan, the first Japanese to be baptized a Christian,⁵ and one moreover who had learned sufficient Portuguese to be able to converse with Xavier—and further receiving Jorge Alvares’ report, his conviction was fortified and no difficulties could prevent him from realizing what he considered to be for the greater glory of God (*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*).⁶

This required conviction (or greed) because it was a long way from Goa to Japan, and the route via Malacca was infested with pirates and made difficult by storms. But with faith in God he set out. And why should he be scared? God was on his side and, as he wrote, ‘God is the Master of all storms and stronger than all pirates’.⁷ Whether it was with God’s help or not, the journey went smoothly. On 14 April 1549, he left Goa with his party and by 25 April they had reached Malacca. Two other Jesuits, Father Cosme de Torres and Brother Juan Fernandez,⁸ as well as the three Japanese neophytes—Anjiro (Paul), João and Antonio—accompanied him.⁹ Moreover, there were two servants, Amador, a Malabar, and Manoel, a Chinese. Thus they were seven in all. On 24 June they sailed again, this time on a Chinese junk, and after various incidents and difficulties with the superstitious Chinese captain and his crew, they arrived at Kagoshima in Japan on 15 August 1549.¹⁰ This means that the journey from Goa to Kagoshima had not taken more than four months and one day, which must be considered quite reasonable for that time. We can imagine that Xavier learned much from Anjiro about Japan during the long journey.



Figure 9: Japanese portrait of Francis Xavier

As Xavier reported, ‘neither the devil nor his disciples could hinder our progress, and God brought us to the land of our heart’s desire on the feast of our Lady’s Assumption in the year 1549’,¹¹ Anjiro was at his side, and it was with Anjiro’s family in Kagoshima that he stayed for close to two months upon arrival. In their company he obtained the first impressions of the Japanese people, and he was almost ecstatic when he described them in his first letter (to Goa). ‘They are the best race yet discovered, and I think that among non-Christians their match will not easily be found’,¹² and so on and so forth. The rosy picture of infatuation and exultation during the first two months was not to change much

during his stay in spite of hard-ship and adversity.¹³ He was optimistic about Japan and the Japanese, more so than about other lands and peoples he had encountered in the East.

This letter, dated 5 November 1549, is historic. It is the first description of the Japanese written by a Westerner in Japan. It is also the longest letter that Xavier ever wrote—close on 10,000 words—and this reflects the enthusiasm he felt during this first encounter with the Japanese.¹⁴ Many visitors to Japan have reacted in the same manner. As M.Cooper says, ‘From that date onwards the varying fortunes of the Europeans in Japan are fairly well documented. Japan’s [first] century of contact with the West had begun’.¹⁵

Soon, however, Xavier turned to the problems which were to meet missionaries in Japan and he assures that ‘the metal of those who come out here will be well tested’ and tells his brothers in Goa that ‘the Fathers coming to Japan must be well provided with clothes made of Portuguese wool. And they must come well shod, for here we are dying of cold—*aqui morremos de frio*’.¹⁶

They were, however, a sensation in Kagoshima and it was initially believed that they represented a new Buddhist sect—after all they came from India (Tenjiku).¹⁷ Anjiro was the cause of this, as he did not tire of telling people about the marvels of Goa and India and what he had seen and experienced there. Shimazu Takahisa, the daimyo of Satsuma, heard of them and curious about who they were, sent for Anjiro to come to his fortress located about fifteen ri northeast of Kagoshima in Kokubu. Anjiro must have given a brilliant description of Xavier because he was also invited to meet the daimyo. Xavier must in turn have made a good impression on Takahisa because a few days later the daimyo ‘gave all his vassals permission to become Christians, if they so desired’.¹⁸ This he could easily do, as he probably thought that Xavier only represented another Buddhist sect emanating from India. Since Xavier could not possibly have communicated directly with the daimyo or any other Japanese for that matter, it must have been Anjiro who served as the interpreter and coloured the message in his personal way. It is apparent that Xavier felt the deficiency in not knowing the language and having to preach via an interpreter. He observed that he was dumb like a statue among people who talked and like a child beginning to speak. It is recorded, however, that he made serious efforts to learn Japanese, but he could not possibly have managed to communicate directly and easily during his short two-year stay in Japan, especially since he was busy with other things than learning a difficult language.¹⁹ It is reported that he preached using partly Latin, partly Spanish, partly Portuguese, mixed with occasional Japanese words—and was understood! His charisma did the rest!²⁰

Besides, Xavier worked on a translation of the Articles of the Christian Faith together with Anjiro and Fernandez.²¹ He had soon noticed that Japan was a literate country and was convinced that with the written word the gospel could be understood and spread quickly. The translation was, however, in clumsy Japanese and Xavier was derided when he used it.²²

Xavier stayed for a little more than a year at Kagoshima and he would sadly come to realize that the harvest of converted souls had been limited.²³ Only about 100 men and women were persuaded to become Christians, mostly through the efforts of Anjiro. Among them was Bernardo, a young samurai who became a faithful companion of Xavier’s in his journeys through Japan and also afterwards.²⁴

Upon arriving, they were also well received by the Buddhist monks but, when it gradually became apparent that they were 'fiercely exclusive' and 'bitterly intolerant',²⁵ they soon had to face hostile opposition from many Buddhists who understood that they represented a threat to their predominance over the people. The Buddhist monks convinced the daimyo, Shimazu Takahisa, to prohibit further Christian teaching which he willingly did, as the expected arrival of Portuguese ships and trade had not been forthcoming. Apparently Xavier was not as influential as he had thought and the Portuguese merchants took more interest in other provinces on Kyushu, especially Bungo, by-passing Satsuma.²⁶ There was envy and competition among the daimyo who vied with each other in attracting the *nanban* barbarians and their merchandise, not least their *teppō* arms. Shimazu Takahisa was also in a nervous state of mind. He was under pressure because he did not have the province safely under his control and he was constantly in war with pretenders inside and enemies outside the province. He needed all the new weapons that the Portuguese could bring to repress all those who wished to subdue him.

When it was therefore reported that a Portuguese ship had arrived at Hirado west of Satsuma while by-passing Satsuma and that Xavier had hurried there in the hope of finding mail, Shimazu Takahisa was enraged; Xavier's endeavour to Christianize the Satsuma people was no longer welcome. The daimyo rather listened to the Buddhist 'bonzes' than to Xavier. When the people, on pain of death, were now forbidden to convert to the new creed, this was the signal for Xavier that it was high time to realize the primary aim of his Japanese mission: to go to Kyoto and present the Christian gospel to the emperor himself. With the emperor baptized, the entire people would follow. This had happened in other lands and Xavier was convinced this would happen also in Japan. After the Emperor of Japan, the Emperor of China would be next! At this stage Xavier was full of optimism.

Having decided to leave Kagoshima, Xavier left the small congregation in the hands of Anjiro.²⁷ With him came instead Bernardo, his early convert at Kagoshima, as well as Torres, Fernandez, João, Antonio and the servant Amador.²⁸ The daimyo offered a boat to Hirado in Hizen Province, where he was welcomed not only by the Portuguese merchants but also by the young daimyo, Matsuura Takanobu, who was overjoyed by the arrival of the *nanban* merchant ship in his domain.²⁹ The daimyo wanted foreign trade and was ready to make any concession, even the preaching of the Christian religion, in order to obtain the blessings of the West. Xavier stayed for only a couple of months there, but more people were converted there in this short period than in over a year in Kagoshima.

Xavier had not come to Hirado to settle, however. He had his mind set on the ultimate goal, the capital and the emperor, as he thought that this was the way to win the whole land for Christ. Leaving Father Cosme de Torres³⁰ and the two servants with the Christians at Hirado, he began the long tortuous journey westwards via Hakata at the end of October 1550. He had chosen the worst time of year to travel and was soon exposed to winter, cold and snow, and the 500 *ri* to Kyoto can be described as his Via Dolorosa. He went together with Juan Fernandez and Bernardo, who have both had their reminiscences recorded.

'Bedraggled and half starved', Xavier and his two companions came to Yamaguchi,

the great daimiate on the Inland Sea of Japan. This was a necessary stop since Xavier needed a rest for a couple of months (October and November 1550). It was not his intention to evangelize here, but together with Juan Fernandez and Bernardo he preached the gospel en passant and made converts, first the Uchida family of the hostelry where they stayed. Waiting for the opportunity to proceed to Kyoto, they preached twice a day in the streets, people listened and this led to the foundation of the later large Yamaguchi Christian congregation.

Also here the daimyo, Ōuchi Yoshitaka (1507–51), heard of him and Xavier and his followers were called into his presence. They were received kindly and, being curious, the daimyo asked many questions about their travels and about India and Europe. He wanted to know about what they preached, and he was sermonized about sins and immoral life to the extent that they were ushered out ‘without the King saying one word’. The daimyo’s court was known for its cultivation of both refined arts—and vices—and the lord for unscrupulously supporting *wakō* piracy.



Map 6: Xavier's travels in Japan

Eight days before Christmas in the year 1550,³¹ Xavier left Yamaguchi accompanied by Juan Fernandez and Bernardo, determined to proceed and see the emperor in Kyoto. Again the journey was made in the depth of winter and the way through deep snow and icy water must have been an ordeal for Xavier who, according to reports, was poorly dressed and often walked with bare feet. The nights were so cold that he covered himself with the tatami mats at the inns.³² At Iwakuni—today's Hiroshima—they managed, however, to acquire passage on a ship to Sakai. This journey took some two weeks as the ship called at various ports on the way. Arriving at the rich city of Sakai, they were lucky to put up at an affluent merchant's house, while waiting for arrangements to be made for their travel to Miyako (Kyoto). Apparently the land was ravaged by bandits as much as the sea was by pirates. They could, however, join a nobleman's party. The nobleman himself rode in a palanquin (*kago*) and the bearers went at a trot—and so did Xavier and

his two companions—barefoot, if later reports are to be believed.

The journey took two days, as they stopped mid-way (at Hirakata?) Xavier was happy. He was nearing his goal, the day he had dreamed of ever since he arrived in Japan. His ecstasy met with an abrupt end when he finally faced the reality of Kyoto. The once glorious city of Heian-kyō had become a desolate 'lair of wolves and foxes'.³³ The shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiteru, had left the city and could not be reached. Xavier, however, found his way to the *Goshō*, the imperial palace, but he was barred entrance into the holy chambers. For one thing, he was poorly dressed, and for another, he had not brought the gifts which opened the doors for Japanese and foreigners alike. The gifts had, by necessity and providentially, been left behind in Hirado! In any case, a meeting would have served no purpose, for the emperor Go-Nara (1496–1557, r. 1527–57) was a mere figurehead who led a miserable life exerting no political power. The shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiteru, also enjoyed little power.³⁴ The situation was the same when he tried to enter the Tendai monastery on Mount Hiei. His sleeveless cassock worn threadbare could in no way match the shimmering silks worn by the monks entering and leaving this illustrious 'university'.³⁵ He also heard that a great war was imminent and realized that the land did not have the peace that was needed for preaching the law of God.³⁶ He was thus unable to achieve the goals set for his Kyoto visit. His dreams were shattered. One can imagine his disappointment.

Xavier learned several important lessons, gained from bitter experience, during his short eleven-day stay in Kyoto. One was that central authority had fallen to a low level. Another was that you do not come empty-handed when wishing to be received and be allowed to see important people in Japan. A third lesson was that you have to be not only well dressed but even splendidly attired if you ever wish to meet and convince the high and mighty. Humble simplicity was not the way in Japan. A general lesson must have been that neither the emperor nor the shogun were the important rulers of *sengoku* Japan. While the former was driven into artistic seclusion, the latter had to rely on daimyo 'kings'. This lesson he could have learned earlier, but witnessing it himself he could have no doubts. Now he perceived his error clearly. The conclusion was that, if neither the emperor nor the shogun ruled Japan, it had to be the 'kings', some of whom he had met on his way to Kyoto. They were the ones to be converted and this time no mistake was to be made when meeting them: it had to be in style.

Xavier might have learned another important lesson. If he was going to endure physically, he must travel in an easy way, avoid the dangers of the land and not tread through snow barefoot. So after only eleven days in Kyoto, at the beginning of January 1551, he first embarked on a boat going down the Kamogawa from Kyoto to Osaka, and from Sakai he and the companions took passage on a ship sailing through the Inland Sea and Shimonoseki Strait to Hirado. They returned there at the beginning of March 1551, after four and a half months of absence, 'during which they had suffered and learned a great deal'.³⁷ Father de Torres must have worried throughout the winter and his happiness must have been limitless when he saw his Master again. To Xavier goes the honour of being the first European to have travelled in Japan—and in winter to boot and mostly on foot—with the whole journey reported upon both by himself and by others. And he and Fernandez were among the first Europeans to visit the capital, Kyoto.³⁸

Among the 'kings', the daimyo of Yamaguchi, Ōuchi Yoshitaka, seemed to be the

most powerful—certainly more so than the emperor and shogun in Kyoto. He was in control of some ten western provinces and his capital, Yamaguchi, was often referred to as Little Kyoto. It was a rich place due to the flourishing trade and *wakō* activities. Accordingly, Xavier formed a plan. He would return to Yamaguchi but this time ‘*en grand appareil*’,³⁹ silk-clad and with a retinue including Juan Fernandez Bernardo and a Japanese Christian, all of them no doubt in beautiful kimonos and possibly with swords in their sashes, and finally ‘the Indian Amador whose extremely swarthy countenance greatly attracted the Japanese, so that they would walk as much as 20 ri to see the phenomenon’.⁴⁰ Further, the presents were thoughtfully and lavishly selected—all of them originally intended for the emperor. Among them were a grandfather clock which chimed the hours day and night, a musical box, a glass mirror, an elaborately worked musket with three barrels, several bales of brocade, two pairs of spectacles or goggles, books richly bound in the European style, some beautiful crystal vases, a mirror and Portuguese wine. More than anything else, the musket with three barrels must have impressed a daimyo who had war on his mind. Further, Xavier was equipped with two letters of greeting on parchment from the Governor of India, representing King John III of Portugal, and from Bishop Albuquerque, representing Pope Julius III. Thus, everything was well arranged and it can be imagined that he entered Yamaguchi by the end of April 1551 in the style of a grandee. Predictably, he was also immediately granted audience by the daimyo, who extended the warmest hospitality.⁴¹

The daimyo was certainly amazed when he saw the former priest whom he had regarded as a kind of vagrant beggar some months before, but also delighted with the presents and the prospect of future trade. Xavier reported that, declining a considerable sum of gold and silver in return, he only asked for one favour, that he would be given permission to preach the law of God freely in his territories and allow those of his subjects who so wished to embrace it. Apparently the daimyo was ready to agree to anything for the honour of the Portuguese bringing him exotic gifts like a musket with three barrels. A proclamation declared that he allowed the introduction of the new religion, and Xavier and his companions were nicely lodged at an empty Buddhist monastery and could begin their missionary activities without delay. Generally they preached in the streets twice a day, in the morning and in the evening, and had discussions afterwards. Often people followed them to their lodgings where the discussion continued for hours. Over a period of two months, about 500 converts received baptism, among them also samurai. In this work they were much in touch with the Buddhist and Shinto sects which had more than 100 temples and shrines in the Yamaguchi area and the result was discussions between Xavier and leading bonzes. There was a constant stream of visitors from early morning until late into night, and Xavier could complain that ‘there was no time for prayer, meditation, even, at least in the beginning, for saying Mass or Office, or for eating a meal or finding some sleep’.⁴²

Xavier certainly also learned much from being in touch with the Buddhist monks. One thing he realized was that the Dainichi (‘the great sun’) of the Shingon Sect was not the same as the God of the Christian religion.⁴³ He had at first rendered the word God into Japanese by the Buddhist term Dainichi, but when it dawned upon him that God and Dainichi were not the same—that Dainichi corresponded to the Indian Vairochana and was a purely pantheistic conception, not referring to a personal God or a Creator of all

things—he introduced the Latin term *Deus* for the Christian God which was pronounced *Deusu* in Japanese.⁴⁴ As it was preached in the streets of Yamaguchi that Dainichi was not the true god and should not be prayed to, Xavier ran into controversies with the bonzes, who saw him more and more as an unwelcome competitor and would certainly have had him done away with had he not been under the protection of the daimyo. It irritated the bonzes not least that they were accused of leading immoral lives in their monasteries. The most difficult part of Christian dogma for the Japanese to accept was the thought of Hell and eternal damnation. In Buddhist thought there was always the hope of compassion and mercy for even the most evil person. This among other issues was the subject of the disputations reported by Cosme de Torres.⁴⁵ Nor were all relations with the bonzes hostile; already in Kagoshima Xavier had developed a close friendship with the abbot of a Zen monastery.⁴⁶

In the midst of his daily debates with the bonzes and four months of evangelizing in Yamaguchi, Xavier received an invitation from the daimyo of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige (Sōrin), asking him to come to his capital, Funai (today's Ōita). A Portuguese ship had arrived at the city's port of Okinohama and the daimyo was anxious to discuss certain matters with Xavier. Xavier was again excited, as he knew that Bungo was one of the important daimiates on Kyushu and that the young daimyo, aged only 22 at the time, was one of the powerful 'kings' on Kyushu. He summoned Father Cosme de Torres from Hirado and, leaving him and Juan Fernandez⁴⁷ in charge of the Yamaguchi Christians, departed in mid-September 'to discover whether the daimyo of Bungo desired to be a Christian and to see the Portuguese'.⁴⁸ He was escorted by the four converted Japanese—João, Antonio, Matteo and Bernardo—and the journey of about 60 miles was completed in less than a week, partly by land and partly by sea.

It is at this point of the story that Pinto describes a disheveled and emaciated Xavier who is met by Pinto and others outside Funai.⁴⁹ This is not true. The scene was probably the same as at Yamaguchi. He came dressed in silk and with a retinue also well-dressed and with presents to the young daimyo not less lavish than those he had bestowed the daimyo at Yamaguchi. From the ship that landed at Okinohama, Bungo's main harbour, he proceeded to Funai, the capital, 'in a gaily beflagged sloop, with all the Portuguese merchants and mariners in festive attire as his retinue'. And 'they walked in procession through the streets of the great city filled with gaping crowds to the daimyo's palace'.⁵⁰

The young daimyo welcomed Xavier warmly. His motives were doubtless mixed but he was profoundly excited by Xavier's appearance and also by the way Xavier was honoured by the other Portuguese. Xavier, in turn, felt equally honoured by the 22-year old daimyo, who had come to power only a year earlier when his father was murdered. Xavier was not the first Portuguese that he met. He had earlier encountered a merchant, Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão), who had stayed for several years at Funai and had learned Japanese. It was naturally for selfish reasons that he had invited Xavier, but a friendship developed between them. He was curious and liked the exotic touch of the priest but also looked forward to trade and not least European firearms for his armed forces. He was a Zen believer and concerned with religion, and ended being baptized a Christian 27 years later in 1578. Xavier surely also had selfish reasons but was immediately impressed by the young and intelligent lord. Thanks to the daimyo and his generosity, the number of Christians increased quickly from the half dozen or so converted by Xavier during his

stay to between six and seven hundred a couple of years later.

Xavier's disappointment was that no ship had arrived from Malacca since he had come in 1549 with news or letters for him. The ship that had arrived now with Duarte da Gama as captain had also not brought him any tidings from either India or Europe. One can imagine how lonely he felt without any messages or communications after all his trials and tribulations on the way up to Kyoto and back to console him. He must have felt deserted by man and God alike even though happy to meet a number of countrymen.

Bad tidings came also from Yamaguchi. The daimyo of Yamaguchi, Ōuchi Yoshitaka, had suffered a rebellion soon after Xavier left, which plunged the whole daimiate into civil war. The daimyo fled but was cut off and forced to commit *harakiri* (on 30 September 1551). Father Cosme de Torres and Brother Juan Fernandez had to go into hiding but later bravely continued their missionary work. God must have been on their side, because the rebels came with an embassy to Funai and offered Ōtomo Sōrin's younger brother, Haruhide (or Hachirō)—also an admirer of Xavier—the post of daimyo in Yamaguchi, which he accepted under the name of Ōuchi Yoshinaga. Under him the mission had another seven good years until in turn he was murdered in 1557.

The time came for Xavier's departure from Bungo and Japan in November 1551. Letters from Goa urged him to return. Necessity demanded his presence in India⁵¹ and unwillingly he resolved to leave Japan. The daimyo, Ōtomo Yoshishige—the later Ōtomo Sōrin—also parted with him reluctantly, but showed his appreciation by appointing an ambassador⁵² to accompany him and convey his greetings to the viceroy of India. The ambassador brought a letter and presents of Japanese weapons and armour for the king of Portugal. The daimyo also asked Xavier vehemently to send a Pater to live by his side in Funai.

Xavier would have liked to bring some learned Buddhist priests with him, but no priest was ready to expose himself to the dangers of hazardous sea travel. In the end there were the four converts, Bernardo, Matteo, João and Antonio, who came with him. The first two wished to visit India and Europe in order to be able to tell the Japanese about things there; the last two would serve as interpreters for Xavier or other missionaries when they were to go to Japan.⁵³

On 20 November 1551, Duarte da Gama's ship left Okinohama, soon passed the Shimonoseki Strait and was on the dangerous sea between Japan and China. Xavier was at this point intent on returning to Japan soon again. Underway, they encountered heavy storms and were driven around not knowing where, and it must have been hard on Xavier who heartily disliked storms. In the midst of it, the miracle of the sloop took place. A sloop was lost in the storm with two seamen on board, and while all were bewailing the misfortune, Xavier bade them to be of good heart because within three days God would bring the sloop and seamen back. This happened as predicted and Pinto and others afterwards considered that it was Xavier's prayers that had resulted in the 'Miracle of the Sloop'.⁵⁴

They arrived at Sancian Island near the mouth of the Canton River on 17 December 1551 where Xavier met his old friend Diogo Pereira who showed him a letter from a Portuguese captive who was held in a prison in Canton together with other Portuguese and wished Pereira to intercede for them at the court of Peking. This gave Xavier the idea that he should also go to Peking and present the gospel to the Chinese emperor. On

Pereira's ship on its way to Singapore and Malacca they made their plans which seem unrealistic to a modern reader. To Ignatius Loyola he wrote at the time that 'when the Japanese learn that the Chinese are adopting the Law of God they will lose faith in their own sects more quickly'.⁵⁵ In the light of what happened later for their successors, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), Johann Adam Schall (1592–1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) and others—who were allowed to begin missionary work in China—one cannot say that they could not have been successful, one as a businessman and the other as a missionary.⁵⁶

Xavier was kept busy after returning from Japan. Appointed Provincial in India, he had authority over all affairs of the college at Goa, as well as over the missions throughout the East. At Goa Luís Frois met him in 1548 and wrote about him in his *Historia de Japam*.⁵⁷ The only signs of incessant toil over a two-year period in Japan was that his hair had turned from raven black to gray and that he showed some emaciation. He left Goa by mid-April 1552, destined for China and the fortunate few chosen to go with him were the priest Baltasar Gago (1515–83),⁵⁸ the young Jesuit Alvaro Ferreira, a young Chinese named Antonio who was to act as interpreter, and a Malabar Christian named Christopher as servant to Xavier. With them they had plenty of gifts. They travelled via Cochin and ran into a terrible storm on the way to Malacca. Diogo Pereira waited for Xavier at Malacca with a ship loaded with merchandise as well as presents for the Chinese emperor. There were complications, however, and in the end Diogo Pereira was never appointed ambassador to the Court of the Chinese Emperor. In July Xavier was on his way without him. They passed the Singapore straits and entered the open sea of typhoons and marauders, but the *Santa Cruz* managed to reach the calm waters by the estuary of Pearl River where it cast anchor at the island of Sancian (Shang-ch'uan) close to the Chinese coast by mid-September.⁵⁹ Xavier tried hard to be taken to Canton but no businessman, Portuguese or Chinese, was willing to give him a passage. They felt that it was too risky and did not look forward to dungeon life in a Canton prison, torture and decapitation. In a letter dated 22 October Xavier wrote about his efforts to come ashore although 'the King of China had so stringently forbidden foreigners entrance into his territories without his express permission'. But 'we are determined to to make our way into China at all costs'. And 'when the *Santa Croce* leaves here for Malacca I hope it will bring you news of how we were received in Canton'. And 'when I came to Sancian we made a little chapel where I celebrated Mass daily until I went down with a fever. I was ill for a fortnight, but now by the mercy of God I am all right again'.

Thus, Xavier was determined to go to China, and still hoping against hope, weeks went by, even months. As late as mid-November he wrote almost jubilantly about how everything was being arranged. In probably his last letter of 13 November he says that he still has good hopes. He knew that the devil would do all in his power to prevent them from entering China 'but what glory to God it will be if...the vast presumption of the devil is brought to nothing!... For if it is the will of God, I shall not die, though it is a long time since *I felt so little inclined to live as I do now*'.⁶⁰

The weather was bad on the island by the end of November. All merchants had sailed south, and Xavier and his only companion, Antonio, even had little to eat, as the wintry wind chilled them to the bone. Still passionately longing for Canton and China, Xavier fell ill on 21 November with a fever. He was bled, but the blood-letting caused him so

great a nausea that he fainted. The next day he underwent the operation again, and once more he fainted. The fever increased, his mind began to wander, and in his delirium his words showed him thinking of his brethren of the Society of Jesus. So he remained until 28 November, which was the eighth day of his illness. On that day he lost the power of speech altogether and lay silent for three days.

During that time he recognized nobody and ate nothing. At noon on Thursday he regained his senses, but spoke only to call on the Blessed Trinity. He continued to have such words on his lips until the night of Friday passed on towards the dawn of Saturday when it could be seen that he was dying. Then, with the name of Jesus on his lips he rendered his soul to his Lord with great repose and quietude.⁶¹

He died thus on Sancian Island on 3 December 1552, without having been able to realize his dream to go to China.

It can be noted that Xavier came only about a year too early. Already in 1553 the situation changed when the Portuguese Captain-Major Leonel de Sousa after long negotiations came to a verbal agreement with the Kuangtung authorities and commerce was normalized. The Portuguese could come legally to an island as close to Canton as Lampacau.⁶² 'Sino-Japanese trade was at last placed on a durable basis and the Portuguese could freely visit Canton from Sancian and Lampacau'.⁶³ The whole foreign traffic was concentrated at Lampacau in 1554 and Sancian, which the Portuguese had used in their clandestine trade and where Xavier had died, was closed. Lampacau became an important Portuguese post with fixed habitations, something that they had never had on Sancian. Lampacau became an important interim base and Father Baltazar Gago (1515–83), being shipwrecked there in 1560, reported that 500–600 Portuguese dwelled constantly on this island.⁶⁴ This would mean that Lampacau was much used by the Portuguese also after they succeeded in founding a fixed depot at Macao in 1557.⁶⁵ That the situation was a new one is proven by the fact that Father Belchior Nunez on the way to Japan in November 1555 could twice visit Canton.⁶⁶ Pinto was with him and each wrote letters mentioning the visits. Pinto's letter is dated 20 November 1555, and Father Belchior's letter 23 November 1555. For once, Pinto is trustworthy and his account rings singularly true.⁶⁷

As already mentioned above, some 30 years later, Matteo Ricci and others, also Jesuits, would accomplish what Xavier had intended to do. It dolefully needs to be added that Xavier was aged only 46 when he died. He was buried the following day, 4 December, on Sancian Island. He was exhumed on 17 February 1553, and the coffin reached Malacca on 22 March. Some months later it was transferred to Goa where his holy remains were finally laid to rest in 1554. He was beatified by Pope Paul V in 1619 and canonized by Pope Gregory XV in 1622.

* * *

To Xavier goes the honour of inaugurating the so-called 'Christian Century' in Japan. It began the day Xavier stepped ashore in Kagoshima on 15 August 1549, and ended with the final persecution and eviction of the Christians in 1639. One can also, like Boxer, extend it to 1650 and allow it to cover a full century.⁶⁸

Xavier was immediately impressed with Japan and developed a liking for the Japanese. Here he was confronted with a culture that was equal to his own and he expressed that 'these people are my delight'. After only a couple of months in Kagoshima he wrote almost lyrically to the brothers in Goa:

...the people whom we have met so far are the best who have as yet been discovered, and it seems to me that we shall never find among heathens another race to equal the Japanese. They are a people of very good manners...never yet did I see a people so honest in not thieving ...They like to hear things propounded according to reason; and granted that there are sins and vices among them, when one reasons with them pointing out what they do is evil, they are convinced by this reasoning.⁶⁹

Xavier had also the fondest hopes for success in Japan. In Japan he had met the sophisticated culture which differed from what he had met in India and other places in the East. It had impressed him not least that many Japanese could read and write. This would make it easier to make Japan a Christian country. To Ignatius Loyola he wrote on 29 January 1552,

Since the land of Japan is so well disposed and since Christianity once planted would grow of itself among the people there, any effort we would exert for that country would be greatly worthwhile. Therefore, dear Father, I trust greatly, that you send us holy men hither to Japan. And that, because the people of Japan in all the lands so far discovered are the only ones capable of making Christianity grow by themselves.⁷⁰

It is often said that the mission left few Christian traces and that it was just an interlude or parenthesis in the history of Japanese religion and culture. One needs, however, only to visit Kyushu shortly to note that the mission left traces and that Japan was deeply affected by European culture. In Japanese cultural history this was truly more than an interlude and a parenthesis. Xavier inspired others and their success was amazingly great. Together with other Portuguese, firstly merchants, they broke the Japanese isolation and its sole dependency on Chinese culture. With trade and mission came new knowledge. The view of cosmos changed and the world was no longer considered to be flat and end in India. The geographical horizon widened and the result was a round global world.⁷¹ Thus, it was not only Europe that discovered Japan; it was equally Japan that discovered Europe.

Western science, introduced in the sixteenth century, was called *nanbangaku*, 'science of the southern barbarians' and was the first wave of European learning in Japan. If we leave the musket and military matters aside, this new learning was noticeable in a number of fields, such as astronomy, geography, navigation and mathematics. In medicine we meet the term *nanbanryū geka*, 'surgery of the school of the southern barbarians'. This medical learning was first introduced by Luís d'Almeida who set up a hospital in Bungo in 1556.⁷² He was a surgeon who turned to medical service after being a merchant and ended up as an ordained Jesuit missionary. European medicine continued to be popular even after the missionaries were forced to leave the country.⁷³ At *seminarios* on Kyushu

there was instruction in European art and music and even in Latin composition. The Jesuit Mission Press printed a remarkable number of publications during its 24 years of existence between 1590 and 1614 not only on religious topics but also on subjects with no direct connection with religion.⁷⁴ These studies, though being undesirable because of their connection with Christianity, survived the persecution and continued later as *rangaku* Dutch studies in the eighteenth century.⁷⁵ ‘All in all, the Christian mission brought to Japan an abundant cultural enlightenment as well as a religious contribution’.⁷⁶ Not least Momoyama art was much inspired by this enlightenment. One outgrowth in Japanese art were numerous screens, the *nanban byōbu*, which can be admired in both Japanese and overseas museums. Finally, a number of words of Portuguese and Spanish origin have remained in contemporary Japanese, examples being *tempura*, *pan* and *tabako*.

It was the beginning of a new internationalism which was only partly and temporarily broken by the *sakoku* policy of more than 200 years from 1639 to 1853; Japan was never again the Japan it had been before 1543. Even during the *sakoku* centuries the shogunate left some windows open and intellectuals were aware of developments on a global level. The authorities would never close the country totally—nor was this possible. The world could not be limited to China and India again. This internationalization began at Tanegashima in 1543 and with the arrival of the Christian mission in 1549. The first Portuguese merchants were rightly much honoured on Tanegashima and Xavier and the other early Jesuits all over Kyushu.

The Portuguese merchants and European culture, thus, meant more than the introduction of the musket and the propagation of the Christian creed. A close study of someone as early as Xavier shows that it was European culture that opened the doors for missionary work. He soon came to know that it was not enough to come as a poor and humble monk. This lesson he gained from experience during his eleven-day sojourn in Kyoto. The way to the high and mighty was to be dressed in silk, show pomp and circumstance, to bring official letters written on parchment from India and Portugal and, not least, to confer exotic gifts from the outside world. If the daimyo wanted commerce to be rich and have weapons to make war, let them have the material things—as long as it furthered the divine ends, the preaching of the Holy Law and the conversion of the Japanese to the Christian faith. This approach opened the doors; Xavier used it first at Yamaguchi with ample success, and this success led next to the grand reception in Bungo. Afterwards the Christian message could be disseminated with the support of the rulers and without the harassment of the Buddhist monks or the people. Xavier went equally equipped in his attempt to enter China, but there the political situation barred him and death overtook him before he was allowed to set his foot on the Chinese continent.

It should be noted, further, that the missionaries came to Japan at a time when the country was literally open and they could move and travel quite freely from Kagoshima to Miyako. The era was one of civil war and there was no central authority to stop them or order their expulsion. This had the advantage that if a daimyo showed himself hostile and did not care to have the missionaries in his domains, they could turn to another province where a more cordial daimyo would receive them.⁷⁷ ‘When expelled from one fief, they could move on to the next’.⁷⁸ Xavier was the first European missionary to enjoy this chaotic political situation when Japan was divided between a number of ‘kings’ who

vied with each other in opening up for foreign intercourse and accumulating wealth through foreign trade and absorbing Western firearms and other items. Half a century later this was not possible. The Portuguese brought not only Christianity, but also the new weapon that would help the unification of the country and, ironically, lead to their expulsion.

More importantly, however, they transferred a new world view that could not be expunged. The world became round and so it has remained. Christian thought could be suppressed, but the new international view of the world was to remain—*nolens volens*. When the whole globe had become a reality for the Japanese, they were ‘too curious to shut their minds completely from the rest of the world. They remained attentive—keenly attentive—to outside developments even during the period of isolation’.⁷⁹

It should be emphasized, finally, that the ultimate goal for the Jesuit priests was to Christianize Japan and the Japanese. This they had accomplished marvellously in other parts of the world—in America and in the Philippines—and they certainly looked forward to the same success in Japan. This they did not manage, but that is another story.

APPENDIX I
The Teppōki

鐵炮記

鐵炮記 代種子嶋久時公

隅州之南有一嶋。去州一十八里。名曰種子。我祖世世居焉。古來相傳。嶋名種子者。此嶋雖小。其居民庶而且富。譬如播種之下。一種子。而生生無窮。是故名焉。先是。天文癸卯秋八月二十五丁酉。我西村小浦有一大船。不知自何國來。船客百餘人。其形不類。其語不通。見者以爲奇怪矣。其中有大明儒生一人。名五峯者。今不詳其姓字。時西村主宰有織部丞者。頗解文字。偶遇五峯。以杖書於沙上云。船中之客。不知何國人也。何其形之異哉。五峯卽書云。此是西南蠻種之賈胡也。粗雖知君臣之義。未知禮貌之在其中。是故其飲也。杯飲而不杯。其食也。手食而不箸。徒知嗜欲之懷。其情不知文字之通其理也。所謂賈胡到一處輒止。此其種也。以其所有。易其所無而已。非可怪者矣。於是織部丞又書云。此去十又三里。有

一津。津名赤尾木。我所由賴之宗子。世世所居之地也。津口有數千戶。戶富家。而南商北賈。往還如織。今雖繫船於此。不若粟津之深而且不遽之愈也。告之於我祖父惠時與老父時義。時義即使扁艇數十桴之。至於二十七日己亥。入船於赤尾木津。丁卯之時。津有忠首座者。日州龍源之徒也。欲聞法花一乘之妙。寓止津口。終改禪爲法華之徒。號曰住乘院。殆通經書。揮筆敏捷。偶遇五峯。以文字通言語。五峯亦以爲知己之在異邦也。所謂同聲相應。同氣相求者也。賈胡之長有二人。一曰牟良叔舍。一曰喜利志多陀孟太。手携一物。長二三尺。其爲體也。中通外直。而以重爲質。其中雖常通。其底要密塞。其傍有一穴。通火之路也。形象無物之可比倫也。其爲用也。入妙藥於其中。添以小團鉛。先置一小白於岸畔。親手一物。修其身。眇其目。而自其一穴放火。則莫不立中矣。其發也。如掣電之光。其鳴也。如驚雷之轟。聞者莫不掩其耳矣。置一小白者。如射者之棲鵠於侯中之比也。此物一發。而銀山可摧。鐵壁可穿。姦究之爲仇於人之國者。觸之則立嬰其禍。況於麋鹿之禍於苗稼者乎。其用於世者。不可勝數矣。時義見之。以爲希世之珍矣。始不知其何名。亦不詳其爲何用。既而人名爲鐵炮者。不知明人之所名乎。抑不知我一鳴者之所名乎。一日時義重譯謂二人。穰種曰。我非曰能之。願學焉。穰種亦重譯答曰。君若欲學之。我亦罄其蘊奧以告焉。時義曰。蘊奧可得聞乎。穰種曰。在正心與眇目而已。時義曰。正心者。先聖之所以教人。而我之所以學之也。大凡天下之理。不從事於斯。動靜云爲。自不能無差矣。公之所謂正心。豈復有異乎。眇目者。

其明不足，以燭遠。如之何而眇其目乎？蠻種答曰：夫物要守約。守約者，以博見爲未至矣。眇目者，非見之不明，欲守其約以致之遠也。君其察之。時堯喜曰：老子之所謂見小曰明，其斯之謂歟？是歲，重九之節，日在辛亥，涓取良辰，試入妙藥與小團鉛於其中，置一小白於百步之外，放之火，則其殆庶幾乎？時人始而驚，中而恐而畏之，終而翕然亦曰：願學。時堯不言，其價之高而難及，而求蠻種之二鐵炮，以爲家珍矣。其妙藥之擣篩，和合之法，令小臣篠川小四郎學之。時堯朝磨夕淬，動而不已，嚮之殆庶者，於是百發百中，無一失者矣。於此之時，紀州根來寺有杉坊某公者，不遠千里，欲求我鐵炮。時堯感人之求之之深也，其心解之曰：昔者徐君好季札劍，徐君雖口弗敢言，季札心已知之，終解寶劍。吾嶋雖褊小，何敢愛一物，且復我不求自得，喜而不寐，十襲秘之，而況求而不得，豈復快於心歟？我之所好，亦人之所好也。我豈獨私於己，而竊匿而藏諸？即遣津田監物丞，持以贈其一於杉坊矣。且使之知妙藥之法與放火之道也。時堯把玩之餘，使鐵匠數人熟視其形像，月鍛季鍊，新欲製之，其形制頗難似之。不知其底之所以塞之，其翌年蠻種賈胡復來，於我嶋熊野一浦，浦名熊野者，亦小隱山，小天竺之比也。賈胡之中，幸有一人鐵匠，時堯以爲天之所授，即使金兵衛尉清定者，學其底之所塞，漸經時月，知其卷而藏之。於是歲餘而新製數十之鐵炮，然後制造其底之形制，與其飾之如鍵鎗者，時堯之意，不在其器與其飾，在乎可用之於行軍之時也。於是乎，家臣之在遐邇者，視而效之，百發百中者，亦不知其幾多矣。其後和泉界有橋屋又三郎者，商客之徒也，寓

止我嶋者一二年。而學鐵炮者。殆熟矣。歸旋之後。人皆不名。而呼曰鐵炮又矣。然後畿內之近邦。皆傳而習之。非翹畿內關西之得而學之而已。關東亦然。我嘗聞之於故老。曰。天文壬寅。癸卯之交。新貢之三大船。將南遊大明國。於是畿內以西。富家子弟。進爲商客者。殆乎千人。機師。篙師之操舟如神者數百人。鐵船於我小嶋。既而待天之時。解纜齊棹。望洋向若。不幸而狂風掀海。怒濤捲雪。坤軸亦欲折。吁時耶命耶。一貢船檣傾機摧。化鳥有去。二貢船漸而達於大明國寧波府。三貢船不得乘。而同我小嶋。翌年再解其纜。遂南遊之志。飽載海貨。蠻珍。將歸我朝。大洋之中。黑風忽起。不知西東。船遂飄蕩。達於東海道伊豆州。州人掠取其貨。商客亦失其所。船中有我僕臣松下五郎三郎者。手携鐵炮。既發而莫不中其鵠矣。州人見而奇之。窺伺。倣慕。有多學之者矣。自茲以降。關東八州。暨率土之濱。莫不傳而習之。今夫此物行乎我朝也。蓋六十有餘年矣。鶴髮之翁。猶有明記之者矣。是知。嚮之變種二鐵炮。我時堯求之學之。一發而聲動於扶桑六十州。且復使鐵匠知製之道。而徧於五畿。七道。然則鐵炮之權。與於我種子嶋也。明矣。昔者探一種子之生生無窮之義。名我嶋者。今以爲符其識矣。古曰。先德有善。不能昭昭於世者。後世之過也。因而書之。

APPENDIX II

The Tanegashima kafu (Partial)

(The arrival of the Portuguese in the Shigetoki chapter)

八月廿五日西村浦一大船漂來不知自何國來其
人形不類語不通見者以為奇怪矣西村宰有西村
織部丞時貫者以狀書於沙上云船客不知何國人
也有大明儒生五峰者書云是南蛮種之賈人也非
可怪者矣即時貫遣人告惠時惠時命群臣使輕舟
穿之廿七日入船於赤尾木澤賈胡長有二人一曰
牟太叔舍一曰貴利志多陀並太共手携一物為其
體無比倫為其用奇也妙也名曰鐵炮惠時時竟見
以為兵器之甲也而求要種之鐵炮二為家珍矣令
鐵匠製之形象頗雖似之有未盡所

APPENDIX III
The Kunitomo Teppōki

國友鐵炮記

守文草創。魏徵・房玄齡所論也。然共文能經天。武能緯地。有武無文。無以懷遠。有文無武。無以禦亂。是又故人謂宣乎哉。故兵具。外雖顯凶器形。內神武不殺德具。天神十握劍。漢三尺類。皆以同是。大平世者。弓不用貫革矣。夫鐵炮之術用本起者。往昔南蠻國穿都列頓那敦王祖時。於荒摩尼屋國。獨兒女取柑子。傍打羊。飛柑實射盲羊眼。蠻諸人(驚)有飛玉殺生理。成(寄)慮。工作此兵器。又起明朝事初。養山有鬼。號勝鬼。失人命。幾不知其數。此時彼炮術知有妙。近之退治勝鬼(治)云云。日本者。弘安年中。大元國蒙古貢來九州之時。從異船放鐵炮火矢。筑紫軍卒數萬人。爲是被燒殺損命之後。神風又破敵船。蠻兵沉海底。故我國全。然此兵器之用法。倭人雖有流傳之願。思不叶處。初文龜元年・永正七年。從南蠻國相續渡。是共委不傳妙法。故其用知者希也。于時天文八年八月二十五日。南蠻國大船(船)一般。漂着隅州種子島。碇止西村小浦。船中蠻買有百余人。出向浦人。問何國人共。言語不通。而其無事非々閉口。其中大明國儒者五峯便船。則從船下告角。此島主者。相模次郎時行的孫。號種子嶋兵部亟時彥。其長男

織部時正會五峯。以杖書砂。滄浪客何人。五峯同以杖書答真砂。吾是大明國俗儒五峯云者也。南蠻國買人求便船來朝。外船客者蠻夷。而不知於五論道。其舛近禽獸。不能言說。文字云云。時正策談終。又云。此濠海水淺。非大船止所。自是隔十三里。有亦尾木淺。彼急可潛入。依告之。同二十七日。大船解纜入濠。頓時堯出會。日向國以龍源寺僧呂忠首吐與五峯令筆談。此節蠻人長半良叙舍所持手從三尺鐵炮發火。如雷神鳴動。爲堅々無不破石巖。是如何問。神器妙術。不對。時堯傾疑慮。我今學是。爲日本末世妙器。追奸退佞。可盡國主忠烈。彼蠻長成引出物。厚禮以懇望顏者。感其重禮相傳。其教云。今此鐵炮術法傳受有三方。一云正心思無邪。二云直身正氣。三云眼精眇々。是也。凡兵法心々傳心者。己心正。治其氣心。所目舛用一致。忽然發妙用寄術事者。皆以自己。以曲尺分寸尺。天理可中。限開則見近。眇見遠。實己琢磨切盡。則無不中。連傳秘術上者。可讓於兵器。進鐵炮二挺。時堯大悅。是誠可爲寶器矣。其年九月九日。射初鵠鳥。其陪臣篠川小四郎時重。盡朝練夕磨功。百發百中。其後時堯大守嶋津修理太夫義久朝臣進之。感心不斜。尤綴一且雖爲好軍兵具。終可致天下太平之妙器也。足利義晴將軍。天文八年極月二日。被奉獻之。其後紀伊國根來寺杉坊云者。渡種子嶋。張良下邳。信望猶依深之。時堯傳之。又於此嶋鍛冶數人。從近隣郡鄉呼集。令作之。然共作鐵鑪不叶處。翌年再變船飄着。船中有鐵匠壹人。委教是。世人唱云。爲我國大平。八幡太神顯。給鑒驗與云云。嶋住人鍛冶金兵衛清定。鍊磨作數千挺。弘筑紫。此時泉州堺居住橘屋又三郎。學鐵工。

張鍊。以令流布。其時相州山伏玉粒坊^(註)。峰入歸路。壹挺買取。是爲土產。北條左京大夫氏康獻之。是則於小田原知鐵炮初也。于愛於江州知鐵炮根元者。天文十三年辰二月。足利將軍義晴公爲說意。先年從南蠻國。鐵炮隅州種子嶋來朝之後。學之雖爲張鍊。未甚些少。而防大敵不足。國中之鐵匠。以題文尋出之。鐵炮之義張鍊可仕旨。家臣晴元依被仰渡。晴元蒙命被尋之。其頃江州坂田郡國友云所。甚名譽之有鐵匠。其名國友善兵衛・藤九左衛門・兵衛四郎・助太夫。其外鐵匠鍛鍊之者共。義晴公說意之趣。晴元被仰渡奉承。尤我々鐵匠者乍申。鐵炮之義未工作。是仕爭全張鍊與可仕者。不奉存候得共。併鐵工者家業候得者。御本之鐵炮預申候ハ、鍛鍊可仕。細川晴元迄申上。依之義晴公有御感。鐵炮壹挺依下給。右四人之者共其外之鐵匠。盡夜碎膽誠張鍊是。日重鐵炮貳挺雖張立。與捻云物。曾而不及思慮處。鐵匠之內次郎助云者有。時小刀之刃先以虧大根操貫。小刀之虧通道附。此道理解惑。捻云物出來。玉目六匁之鐵炮二挺。天文十三年八月十二日。義晴公奉獻之。其以後經鍊磨功。數多制作是奉獻。其後至天文十八年。織田信長公甚被碎武勇御心。別而鐵炮勢如何鐵山鐵壁無不打碎之云事。深感有。鐵炮打之用法有傳流之願所。是頃橋本一巴云有鐵炮打之義。煉^(原)其名世上高。信長公達臺聞。被召出一巴爲師。鐵炮打之義其盡給朝煉。重而信長公爲說意。未鐵炮甚少。急鐵炮張煉之鐵匠申付。數多用意可有之旨。被仰付。一巴蒙命。甲速相尋處。於江州國友村。國友善兵衛・兵衛四郎・助太夫・藤九左衛門。右四人之者共。鐵炮張鍊之依爲鐵匠。六匁玉鐵炮五百挺。天文十八年酉七月十八日。

信長公說意之趣。從橋本一巴被仰渡。同十九年十月二十一日。奉制作之。其後元龜貳年正月十七日。江州長濱城主木下藤吉郎被仰付者。近年其方義長濱在城。而幸隣鄉者國友鐵工之義委可知。之。近年鐵炮之妙器數多雖停之。併玉目。而遠玉之働無甲斐。何玉大。而鍛大守槍打掛。忽覆用法茂可有樣思。尤近年諸國之強敵。悉無不誅伐云事。是偏人々汗馬之勞乍申。我武運叶國家之萬民撫育之先表也。且者神代以來無比類妙器之鐵炮。往昔從南蠻渡之者。偏八幡大菩薩國家令安穩成。擁護勝照給大慈神傳寄得也。然時者猶以。此於妙器之用法者。委不可有無思慮。是誠將之器相叶者與。國友之鐵匠此旨可申付。秀吉鄉依被仰付。早速長濱歸城仕給。則藤九左衛門・兵衛四郎・善兵衛・助太夫。早々被召寄。信長公說意之趣。具依被仰渡。國友罷歸。膽誠碎。玉目二百目。長九尺之鐵炮貳挺張鍊。尤無疵而全。此旨早速長濱迄申上處。秀吉鄉人足以下被仰付。元龜二年未十一月六日。岐阜奉獻。信長公御感不斜。而述之義其用法可被見屆。則成御出馬打之給。隔山谷・江河。遠玉之事。妙何嚴屈茂無不碎破云事。誠大筒之術用。眉目。于時信長公說意被成下者。此度初二挺之大鐵炮。異國者不及申。於本朝。大鐵炮之根元。三國無雙之得寶器事。別而國友鐵匠共無比類働也。至末世之鐵工之譽。爲規矩。貳挺之內查挺。右四人之者共御直給之。則至只今迄。國友兵四郎所持仕。是本朝大筒之初也。猶信長公御感悅之余。正親町院被奉奏處。藤之御紋重當之二字勅下給之。以此例。只今於國友制作仕奉獻鐵炮之銘。重當驗者。此時之例也。其頃源太神君振武威天下。五幾。七道令一統給之節。國友工匠上手達。臺

聞、從慶長五年、國友助太夫・兵衛四郎・善兵衛・藤九左衛門被召出、大小之鐵炮張鏡奉獻之。同十一年、右四人者共駿府御城被召寄、大小之御鐵炮御註文之通、早々制作可仕由、奉御直詔意、其上御代官之蒙御旨者、鐵炮一通之役也。其節四人之内二人、名之以、^(通)兵衛四郎、兵四郎、改藤九左衛門、藤左衛門、改之、給下之旨、詔意之趣成瀬隼人正正成被仰渡、誠^(通)眉目可云、同十八年、右大臣秀賴公於大阪叛給、其初冬從江戸・駿府・攝州發御勢、給之節、重而石火矢其外小箭數百挺、大阪御陣中奉獻之、兼而大小之御鐵炮合以、^(通)壹萬挺、步兵有御下知、堅城構打破、城中大愁、同極月有和議、^(通)樂止、^(通)鎗矢埋堀濠、兩公御歸陣、翌年秀賴公再叛給、兩大樹公不得止、重而藤藤原輝銀光卒、^(通)諸侯・領主、從軍數十萬騎、難波地有御動座、終元和元年、落城大阪、秀賴公伏誅、兩將軍御歸座、此兩度之役、右四人者供奉御陣中、依之御歸陣、^(通)道路、於江州永原御殿被召出太神君御前、善兵衛・兵四郎・助太夫・德左衛門、以土井大炊助利勝、今度之忠節爲御感、同國之内國友村九百石永代給之、施面目、猶供奉摺針宿迄、從愛給、^(通)御賜頂戴白銀十枚、今以交代之節、拜領右之員數路銀、此時之例也、日本大鐵炮於江州國友初而工作、獻之系圖畢。

江州坂田郡國友御鐵炮代官

大嶋 善兵衛

富永德左衛門

中村 兵四郎

脇坂 助太夫

于時寬永十年西三月

日

Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

- 1 The general tradition, as found in this chapter, comes first of all from the *Teppōki* (see Ch. 2) and the *Tanegashima kafu* (Ch. 3), but is also influenced by Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* and by what has been added over about 350 years of popular folklore. As for Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509?–83), see Ch. 6. It would be more correct to use his full last name, Mendes Pinto, throughout, but for the sake of shortness just Pinto is used.
- 2 To this can be added that Tanegashima is 448 km² in size, the sixth largest island of Japan and rather flat, its highest point being 282 m above sea level. As for its geographical position, see Map 2; for its history, see M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, pp. 31–104.
- 3 A memorial stone at Kadokura reminds the visitor that it was here that the musket arrived in Japan. It bears the inscription *Teppō denrai kikō-hi* ('monument in memory of the introduction of the musket').
- 4 According to Pinto two rowboats with six men came out from the shore and it was asked where they came from. This is not mentioned in the *Teppōki* or the *Tanegashima kafu*, where the initial meeting seems to take place on the shore. Diogo do Couto similarly says, 'From the land, small boats put out to meet them'. See *Peregrinação*, Ch. 132 (R.D. Catz, *The Travels of Fernão Mendes Pinto*, pp. 272–274) and C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543–1640*, V, p. 17, where Diogo do Couto is quoted. Pinto and do Couto may be correct: Also in other reports from Europeans arriving in Japan, the Japanese approached incoming ships in rowing-boats.
- 5 The Nishimura family served the Tanegashima family. They lived at Nishi(no)mura until Meiji times. T.Nishimura *Nantō ikōden*, the *Teppōki* chapter, p. 6. Nishimura, *ibid.* p. 13, mentions a *Nishimura-shi keizu*, 'Genealogy of the Nishimura Family'. The Nishimura family was closely related to the Tanegashima family and T.Nishimura (1865–1924) traced his descent from the same family. H.Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan*, Vol. 1, p. 29.
- 6 It is not directly said in the *Teppōki* or in the *Tanegashima kafu* that Gohō was the captain. He is only mentioned as a Confucian scholar among one hundred 'guests' (*kyaku*) on board. The conclusion is, however, that he was both the owner and the captain of the ship. This fits with what is said in the *Peregrinação*, that is, in case the pirate Samipocheca of the *Peregrinação* corresponds to Gohō. See the *Peregrinação*, Ch. 132 (p. 273 in Catz's translation) and the translations of the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* below.

- 7 *Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 132 (R.D.Catz, *The Travels of Fernão Mendes Pinto*, pp. 272–274) and the *Teppōki*.
- 8 As for the lords of Tanegashima, Tokitaka and Tokishige, other personalities and places, see the translation of the *Teppōki* (Ch. 2 below) and the partial translation of the *Tanegashima kafu* (Ch. 3), also Map 2 for details of the island of Tanegashima.
- 9 Also Akaogi, today's Nishinoomote. According to the *Tanegashima kafu*, a messenger was sent.
- 10 *Nanbansen*, 'ship of the southern barbarians', was a later term for European ships mainly of Portuguese origin. This first *nanbansen* was a Chinese junk. Later the Portuguese used and perhaps also owned junks in their trade activities in Far Eastern waters. In popular tradition the first *nanbansen* junk is given the name *Nanseigō*, 'The Southern Star'. H.Ogasawara, *Teppō denrai*, p. 213.
- 11 Jionji was founded in 806 and belonged to the Ritsu school of Buddhism. It turned to Nichiren Hokku Buddhism in the 16th century. It enjoyed a central position in the Akōgi (Nishinoomote) area and meant much for the cultural development on the island. It was large enough to receive a number of guests. Tradition has it that all the hundred 'guests' on the first *nanbansen* lodged there while the ship was repaired. It was demolished in Meiji times to make way for a Shinto temple. M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, p. 120.
- 12 This Ryukyuan woman is only mentioned by Pinto, however, with no name given. The name Tamagusuku or O-tama comes from the local tradition. (Gusuku is the name of the Ryukyu medieval era, from the 12th to the 14th centuries, and Tamagusuku was a king of this era (1314–20). The fact is, however, that some person must have been able to communicate also with the Portuguese and therefore it is plausible that there was somebody among the 100 'passengers' who could act as an interpreter. As a Ryukyuan she knew Japanese and perhaps also as much Chinese and Portuguese that she could help with the interpretation. Women were not unusual on the ships in the East. They served both as slaves (and merchandise) and servants and perhaps in some other capacity. In H.Ogasawara's *Teppō denrai*, a popular book about the arrival of the Portuguese and the *teppō*, p.65, the Ryukyu woman is on board the ship. See L.Frois, *Historia de Japam*, in German translation, G.Schurhammer, *Die Geschichte Japans*, p. 112.
- 13 Yakushima is a beautiful small island to the west of Tanegashima, about 500 km² in size. It was one of the twelve islands which were given in fief by Minamoto no Yoritomo to Taira Nobutsuna, the first Tanegashima lord. It traditionally belonged to Tanegashima.
- 14 The name Neshime is also found in dictionaries. Nejime is located to the southwest on the Ōsumi peninsula (see Map 3).
- 15 It exceeds the scope of this work to discuss the origin of the muskets brought by the Portuguese, whether they were produced in Europe or somewhere in Asia. An interesting theory, presented by S.Tokoro (Tokoro Sōkichi), suggests that they were probably produced in Southeast Asia. An analysis made by Professor Tokoro of early copies in Japanese museums shows that the originals were possibly of eastern origin. See S.Tokoro, 'Teppō denrai wo megutte, sono tadashii rikai no tame ni', in M. Iizuka and K.Iida, eds, *Teppō denrai zengo*, pp. 47–53. It should be remembered

that the Portuguese, like later the Dutch and the British, initiated the making of firearms and cannon in their colonies and factories.

16 Y.Ishihara, *Nihon wo kaeta! Tanegashima no teppō to Zabieru no jūjikay* pp.45–48.

17 As regards the vast field of the many makes of firearms in Japan, the reader is directed to S.Tokoro and his thorough research which encompasses most kinds of ‘muzzle-loaders’ east and west. See, for example, his *Hinawa-jū*.

18 This firearm was a ‘muzzle-loader’ (in Japanese usually *hinawa-jū*), that is, the weapon was loaded from the muzzle. There is much literature on the subject of the ‘Tanegashima musket’—see, for example, T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 12–32.

19 This can only be a later tradition because the *ryō* gold coins did not come into existence until 1609.

20 For two muskets, according to the *Teppōki*. Neither the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* nor the *Kunitomo teppōki* mention any payment for the muskets. In Pinto’s *Peregrinaçam*, on the other hand, 1,000 taels of silver are received for one musket. It would be surprising if the Portuguese were not paid for the muskets. In popular literature the sum of 2,000 *ryō* is mentioned, for example, in H.Ogasawara, *Teppō denrai*, p. 92. ‘Tael’ was a unit of weight in the East, usually silver. Here Pinto makes sense because silver was used in transactions at the time that the Portuguese arrived; the *ryō* gold coin did not exist until in the early seventeenth century.

21 Because of the iron in the sand (*satetsu*), the Tanegashima shores were formerly referred to as the *kuroi sunahama*, the ‘black sandy beaches’. Even today, a magnet when moved in the sand on Tanegashima may turn black by attracting iron granules. Iron production might have begun already in Yayoi times. A Yayoi fishing hook of iron can be seen in the Teppō-kan in Nishinoomote. H.Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai—sono rekishi to nazo*, p. 22.

22 Regarding the city of Sakai, see, for example, V.Dixon Morris, *The City of Sakai and Urban Autonomy*, in G.Elison and B.L.Smith, eds, *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners*, pp. 23–54. Sakai was at this time the independent and flourishing port city of Kyoto. Today it lies in Osaka Prefecture, south in Osaka. It flourished into the seventeenth century, but declined later in the Tokugawa era. See also below, Ch. 9.

23 Regarding Negoro, see Ch. 10 below. Negoro(-dera) was a temple belonging to the Shingon Sect in Kii Province, founded in 1290. It supported an army of monk soldiers (*sōhei*). It was subdued by Hideyoshi in 1585.

24 It should be noted that Tanegashima itself had had a considerable production of swords and ironware since olden times.

25 As for Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada, see ‘The Wakasa Legend’ (page 8 below) where relevant sources are translated. Yaita is said to have originated from Gifu in the Ōmi Province. To him goes the honour of being the first Japanese maker of a shotgun. The Kunitomo forgers also began early but, logically, Yaita was the first. See T.Hora, *Tanegashimajū*, p. 83 and H.Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai sono rekishi to nazo*, p. 23. As for the Kunitomo smiths, see below, Ch. 7.

26 At the Development Centre at Tanegashima (*Tanegashima kaihatsu sōgō sentā*), usually referred to as the ‘Teppō Hall’ (*Teppō-kan*), are displayed what is

considered to be the first musket brought by the Portuguese and the first musket produced by Yaïta (see Figure 1). Both, however, are questionable. As for the first Portuguese musket, it is said in the *Tanegashima kafu* that it was destroyed in a fire in 1877 during the Seinan War and was replaced by a musket that the Yaïta family had stored in their house. Likewise the first Yaïta *teppō* is questioned by the experts. What can be seen in the *Teppō-kan* is perhaps a copy of the original, made by Hirose Shinshichi in the 1770s. See T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai no jitsuzō*, p. 5 *et passim* and Sakai-shi hakubutsukan, ed., *Sakai teppō*, p. 100. In the local tradition, however, these are the two first muskets, the musket above from the Portuguese and the *teppō* below from Yaïta. See Fig. 1.

27 The screw itself was certainly no problem for a trained smith like Yaïta; it was quickly copied and duplicated. It was the inside of the barrel that was the problem: how to drill the barrel helically so that the screw could be tightly inserted. This technique did apparently not exist in Japan until this time. M.Iida, 'Sekai-shi no naka no Tanegashima', in M.Iizuka and K.Iida, eds, *Teppō denrai zengo, Tanegashima wo meguru gijutsu to bunka*, p. 7 and M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, pp. 106–107. Since the musket was 'muzzle-loaded' it was an absolute necessity that the bottom end of the barrel was tightly closed.

28 For example, H.Motojima mentions with a question mark that some twenty or thirty faulty *teppō* were used during the recapture of Yakushima. He is not alone. Most popular presentations state that the *teppō* played a part in the reconquest of the island.

29 Ning-po (also Liang-po and Liampó)—former name of the city of Ning-Hsien, northeast Chekiang Province, about 90 miles east-southeast of Hangchow on the south side of Hangchow Bay—was perhaps visited by Portuguese traders as early as 1515. It has been questioned whether a Portuguese settlement ever existed at Ning-po. 'Pinto's description of a Portuguese enclave in Ning-po is believed to be highly exaggerated—No trace of such an enclave in Ning-po has ever been found'. R.D.Catz, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, p. 563 and p. 570. A.Kammerer, however, presents a map that indicates a place to the east of Ning-po where the enclave was possibly located. Mendes Pinto gives a vivid description of how the Portuguese enclave was destroyed. He was of course there *come testemunho de vista* and saw how God punished his Portuguese com patriots for their sins. See A.Kammerer's *La Découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVIème siècle et la cartographie des portulans*, pp. 71–82 and the *Peregrinação*, Ch. 221 (pp. 507–511 in R.D.Catz's translation). See also A.Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China; and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China*, pp. 2–4. Ljungstedt is much influenced by Pinto. He is perhaps correct when he states that 'Ning-po and Pinto's Liampo were never identical' and that the destruction of the Portuguese enclave perhaps took place in 1545. It should be noted that Ljungstedt's work was published already in 1835. See also J.Yano (Yano Jin'ichi), *Kindai Shina gaikoku kankei kenkyū*, pp. 266–293. He gives 1548 as the possible date for the destruction of the Portuguese enclave.

30 Bungo was the daimiate to the northeast on Kyushu, today belonging to Ōita Prefecture.

- 31 Boxer gives the literal translation of *wakō* as ‘dwarf-robbers’. ‘Dwarf’ then hints at the fact that the Chinese from early times called the Japanese ‘dwarfs’ (wo, Jpn. wa). The ‘kō’ half of the term literally means ‘robber’ or ‘pirate’. In all fairness it should be noted that often more than half- even in the proportion of ten to one—of the so-called *wakō* were Chinese, Korean or other nationalities. Portuguese adventurers also often behaved as pirates or worse, if we are to believe Pinto. *Peregrinação*, Ch. 66 and 221 (pp. 125–127 and 507–511 in R.D.Catz’s translation), C.R.Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825*, p. 63 and G.Sansom, *op. cit.* p. 267. For a short account of *wakō* activities in Korea and China, see, for example, T.Tanaka, ‘Muromachijidai ni okeru Nihon to kaigai-shokoku to no kankei’ in T.Takeshi and J.W.Hall, eds, *Muromachi jidai—sono shakai to bunka*, pp. 156–167, and for a longer account, K.Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, pp. 434–478 *et passim*.
- 32 Udagawa Takehisa, for example, believes that the *wakō* corsairs were the first Japanese to be acquainted with the musket and could have been the first who brought the musket to Japan: *Teppō denrai, heiki ga kitaru seiki no tanjō*, pp. 14–15 *et passim*. This is quite plausible since the *wakō* were at the height of their pirate activities from the Straits of Malacca to Korea by the middle of the sixteenth century. Professor Udagawa proves that the first musket to come to Japan did not originate in Europe but perhaps in Southeast Asia. See also the *Kōdansha Encyclopedia*, under *wakō*, G.Sansom, *op. cit.*, pp. 267–270 and ‘History of Ming (Ming shih)’ in *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 106–161.
- 33 Cf. the following statement by C.R.Boxer: ‘It has been alleged that guns were used in Japan before the arrival of the Portuguese; but, if so, they must have been primitive and ineffective copies of Chinese bombards, judging by the enthusiasm with which the Japanese welcomed European firearms of all kinds (emphasis added). C.R.Boxer, ‘Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th–18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill’, in C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese Conquest and Commerce in Southern Asia, 1500–1750*, VII, p. 169.
- 34 It is mentioned that there were some thirty families employed with iron works on Tanegashima prior to the arrival of the musket. This is not corroborated in primary sources but sounds plausible. This would mean that Yaita was not alone when manufacture of the Japanese *teppō* began in earnest from 1544.
- 35 The *Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichiryū no keizu*, written in kanbun, is found in T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 47.
- 36 The park is located to the south in Nishinoomote City.
- 37 The stone bears the inscription *chūkō-hi*, ‘monument to the memory of loyalty and filial piety’. This is the burial site of the Yaita family.
- 38 This genealogy was written at a later date to glorify the Yaita family and the author must have had either the *Tanegashima kafu* or the *Teppōki* at hand as the facts are presented alike. It must be a copyist’s mistake when the date presented presumes that the marriage took place one month before the Portuguese arrived in Tanegashima. T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 47.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48.
- 40 The reading Kagetoki is found in one copy of the *Teppōki*. The reading Shigetoki is

used throughout this work.

41 Kumano, a bay to the southeast on Tanegashima. The Kumano gods were worshipped on Tanegashima and a shrine, Kumano jinja, was built at this location in 1452. The *Tanegashima kafu* says that the 10th lord of the island, Hatatoki (1405–1462), made a pilgrimage to Kumano in Kii every year. M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, p. 53.

42 Izumi, a province in the Osaka-Sakai region of central Japan, today part of Osaka Prefecture. See Map 4.

43 The poem in Japanese: *Tsuki mo hi mo Yamato no kata zo natsukashiki ya waga futaoya no aru to omoeba* (月もひも大和の方ぞなつかしやわが二親のありと思えば). Not least a manyōgana version shows that the poem is a later production (月毛日毛日本乃方素奈津加志也我雙親乃有留都思惠波). Wakasa could not possibly have written such poetry at sixteen years of age. The poem is engraved on the memorial stone.

44 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 47 and M.Yanagita, *Tanegashima no hito*, pp. 21–24.

45 One source gives the year 1808 as the date that the document was compiled. H.Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai*, p. 30.

46 This version, in German, is found in G. Schurhammer, ‘Fernaó Mendez Pinto und seine “Peregrinação”’ in *Asia Major*, MCMXXVI, p. 229. As can be seen, this version differs from the above Yaita-shi chronicle.

47 In a popular version of the Wakasa story, it is indeed Mura Shukusha who asks Yaita Kinbee for his daughter and promises at the same time that he will reveal all the secrets about the *teppō*. Yaita is not happy about the proposal but can see the advantage. When Wakasa is ready to sacrifice herself for father, lord and Japan, the marriage takes place and they leave together on the junk that is repaired. See H. Ogasawara, *Teppō denrai*, p. 187.

48 As, for example, in M.Yanagita, *Tanegashima no hito*, pp. 21–24, under Yaita Kiyosada, where he is identified with Mura Shukusha.

49 That it was perhaps not total fiction is stressed by Japanese authors like T.Nishimura. He says that such a romance was looked askance upon until in recent times and would not be reported in official chronicles. The Yaita house chronicle did not hesitate to report the love story, however, and it should therefore have a core of veracity. Legends usually have their beginning in some original truth. T.Nishimura, *Nantō ikōden*, the *Teppōki* chapter, pp. 23–26.

50 When it is said in popular literature that the junk left Tanegashima in late January 1544 and returned in March of the same year, it must partly be under the influence of Pinto, who, as we shall see below, is not trustworthy. *Watashitachi no Tanegashima*, p. 9.

51 The Ryukyu Islands are a chain of some 55 islands, north of Taiwan and south of Tanegashima, among which Okinawa is the largest. The Ryukyus were an independent kingdom at the time the Portuguese arrived in the East. See Map 2.

52 In R.D.Catz’s translation of the *Peregrinação* (Ch. 137), p. 287.

53 Sasakawa Koshirō (or Shinokawa Koshirō) was Lord Tokitaka’s retainer. There exists a *Sasakawa-shi keizu*, ‘Genealogy of the Sasakawa Family’ which has not been available except in quotations (in T. Nishimura, *Nantō ikōden*, p. 20, for

- example). See translation of the *Teppōki* (Ch. 2 below). See also the translation of the *Kunitomo teppōki* (Ch. 7 below), where he is given the first name Tokishige.
- 54 Lead was mainly imported from China.
- 55 *Sengoku*, the Country at War, the period of Japanese history from the outbreak of the Ōnin War in 1467 to Japan's reunification by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi in the late sixteenth century. It was an era in which local daimyo lords exercised independent power and 'in which the more powerful lords aggressively tried to extend their sway over neighbouring regions or the country as a whole'. Quotation from D.F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. I, *The Century of Change*, Book 2, p. 654. See also G.Elison and B.L.Smith, *Warlords, Artists, & Commoners, Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 342.
- 56 Born in Lisbon, Galvano came at 25 years of age to India, where he soon distinguished himself. He was both the conqueror and the 'Apostle' of the Moluccas. He was recalled to Portugal where he was coldly received by the king. He spent the latter part of his life in compiling an account of all known voyages, among these also the first voyage to Japan. The account was finished about 1555 and published after his death in 1563 by his friend Faria y Sousa Tavares. See A.Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Original unto the Year of Our Lord 1555*, preface, pp. i-viii, and S.Kōda, *Nichiō tsūkō-shi*, p. 7.
- 57 In correct Portuguese the name would be António Galvão. The front page of the 1781 edition says, however, Antonio Galvaõ. The accepted English rendering of the name is Galvano.
- 58 The English title of Galvano's work comes from Richard Hakluyt who translated the work from Portuguese in 1601. Galvano wrote the work toward the end of his life after he had returned to Portugal.
- 59 Reference to Marco Polo who says in his *Il Milione* that 'they [i.e., the Japanese] have gold in the greatest abundance, its sources being inexhaustible' and that 'the entire roof [of the sovereign's palace] is covered with a plating of gold'. *Marco Polo's Travels*, ed. by T.Wright, p. 350. Marco Polo referred to Japan as Jipangu. Sipangas must be a corruption of Jipangu.
- 60 Translation based on *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Original unto the Year of Our Lord 1555* by Antonio Galvano, corrected, quoted, and published in England by Richard Hakluyt (1601); reprinted and edited by C.B.Bethune, The Hakluyt Society, London, 1862. Original Portuguese text in *Tratado dos descobrimentos antigos, e modernos*, Lisbon, 1781, pp. 94–95. T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 110. It will be noticed that the *teppō* is not mentioned in this short account which only concerns the *discovery* of Japan.
- 61 It should not be forgotten that these voyages took months and even years when counting the long travel from Portugal (or Goa) to Japan. As M.Cooper writes, 'When tough soldiers, penniless adventurers and hardened traders were cooped up in intolerable conditions for months on end, tempers were liable to fray and discipline among the motley crew break down. On such occasions rioting and looting suddenly erupted on deck, and blood was shed and lives lost before order could be restored'. Further, sickness and death demanded on sixteenth-century voyages that outgoing ships be overmanned. As C.R.Boxer writes, 'It was a

common thing for three or four hundred men to die on the outward voyage in a ship whose complement totalled six or eight hundred'. There were accordingly various ways that the three Portuguese could have become only two on the way to Tanegashima. See M.Cooper, 'The Long Voyage to Japan', in *Tsuru*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (no page number); C.R.Boxer, 'The Portuguese in the East 1500–1800', in H.V.Livermore, ed., *Portugal and Brazil*, p. 218; and G.Woodcock, *The British in the Far East*, p.4.

62 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 110.

63 João Rodrigues Tçuzzu arrived in Japan aged 15 in 1576. Being a missionary, he was banished in 1612 to Macao. He was an early scholar of the Japanese language and is known for the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* (1603) and *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* (1604), besides the *História da Igreja do Japão*, which he wrote after being banished from Japan. He was nicknamed Tçuzzu, or 'interpreter', on account of his exceptional knowledge of the Japanese language. He was born in Sernancelhe, Portugal, and served as interpreter for Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Following his expulsion from Japan in 1612, he settled in Macao where he wrote *História da Igreja do Japão*. C.R.Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440–1770*, p. 57 and *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 248–256; and M.Cooper, *They Came to Japan, An Anthology of Euro-pean Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, p. 411.

64 P.F.von Siebold, *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 256–257. If minor mistakes are forgotten, this narrative runs amazingly close to the tradition that we find in the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*. Corrections: Konaru refers to Go-Nara (emperor: 1527–57) and Yoshi-hao refers to Yoshiharu (shogun 1521–45). The ship arrived on the 23rd day (not the 22nd) of the 8th month and the 8th month refers to September, not October. Koura might refer to Kadokura and Nisimura refers correctly to Nishimura. Tsyu-syu-zu is just another phonetic rendering of Chū Shuzo and Gohou is also correct (Gohō). The names of the two 'commanders' Murasyukya and Krista-moota are close to what you find in other sources. A mistake is that there was a 'crew' of 200 on board and one gets the impression that the ship was Portuguese. Other-wise it is a close variation of the tradition in the other early sources. The question is, who are the annalists to whom von Siebold refers?

65 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 45 and p. 62 and *Hyōchakusen no porutogarujin*, p. 116.

66 T.Nishimura, *Nantō ikōden*, pp. 9–11.

67 In *Shigaku zasshi*, 3 (1892), pp. 357–373.

68 K.Tsuboi, 'Teppō denrai-kō', in *Shigaku zasshi*, 3 (1892), p. 361.

69 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 45.

70 S.Kōda, *Nichiō tsūkō-shi*, p.9.

71 S.Tokoro, 'Teppō denrai', in *Nihonshi tanbō*, Vol. 17, pp. 143–144.

72 M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, p. 112.

73 H.Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai*, p. 49.

74 That names could be heard and rendered in strange ways is proven not least by the British in Japan who referred to Tokugawa Ieyasu's secretary, Kōzuke no Suke, as Codskedono or Codskin. C.J.Purnell, *The Log-Book of William Adams, 1614–19*,

- in *The Transactions of the Japan Society of London*, Vol. XIII (1916), p. 161. It is only natural that the names were jumbled from 1543 until Nanpo Bunshi wrote *The Teppōki* in 1606.
- 75 P.F.von Siebold, *op. cit.*, p. 257. Here the question arises: What preserved portraits did von Siebold see?
- 76 It is of some interest that the name of the second Portuguese is written as Kirishita Mōta on the picture by Hokusai, as if Kirishita was the first name and Mōta the last name. See Figure 4.
- 77 Earlier dates mentioned in Japanese sources are 1501, 1509, 1530, 1539 and 1541, which are possibly all wrong. See page 77 below, also T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 34–35.
- 78 S.Tokoro, ‘Teppō denrai wo megutte’, in *Teppō denrai zengo*, pp. 64–66.
- 79 K.Matsuda, *Nanbanjin no Nihon-hakken*, p. 69.
- 80 E.O.Reischauer, *The United States and Japan*, p. 5.
- 81 M.C.Haguenauer, ‘Tables Chronologiques...’, in *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCXXVI (1835), p. 107, and below, p. 26.
- 82 K.Wada, ‘Nanbansen no Nihon kaigan raichaku’, in *Dai-Minkoku to wakō (Nihon no rekishi*, 7), pp. 114–125. See also K.Matsuda, *Nanbanjin no Nihon-hakken*, p. 68.
- 83 It is of interest that while the Spanish had Jipangu as a goal already when Columbus sailed from Spain in 1492, the Portuguese seem only to have aimed for the islands of pepper and spices. They seem not to have been aware of Japan until they accidentally reached Tanegashima in 1543.
- 84 The dates can be discussed. There is no date mentioned as regards the visit to the Ryukyu Islands but 1542 is a possible guess for perhaps the first Portuguese visit there. 1544 is a logical date for the visit in Japan since de Escalante met Pero Diez in 1545, as described in the text
- 85 For the part of Garcia de Escalante’s report which relates to Japan, see E.W.Dahlgren, ‘A Contribution to the History of the Discovery of Japan’, in *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society of London*, Vol. XI (1912–1913), pp. 239–252. The report is dated 1 August 1548.
- 86 Y.Okamoto is suspicious and rightly so of Pero Dies’ report but ends up cautiously accepting that he visited Japan in 1544. Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 295–297.
- 87 The report, 12 pages long, is found in J.da Camara Manoel, *Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente*, pp. 112–125. Alvares is not presented by name by Xavier but mentioned as ‘un mercador Portugues amigo mio’ in the letter sent to ‘irmãos da Companhia em Roma’ on 20 January 1548. Nor is Alvares mentioned directly in connection with the report which was sent together with the letter. *Ibid.*, pp. 67–84. For a good summary of the report, see N.Kanbashi, *Satsuma-jin to Yoroppa*, pp. 24–36.
- 88 Three Portuguese are reported to have arrived at harbours in Satsuma in 1546. Besides Jorge Alvares there were Alvares Vaz and Don Fernando. A guess is that it was Don Fernando’s ship that is reported as lost by Alvares. Kanbashi, *Satsuma-jin to Yoroppa*, pp. 37–38.
- 89 ‘The Jesuits regarded the Japanese love of bathing with disapproval, no doubt associating it with sensuality’. The daily hot bath—the normal routine of the

- Japanese—was a problem for the Jesuits who ‘compromised by taking a fortnightly bath in winter and a weekly bath in summer’. D.Navarette, *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette (1618–1686)*, Vol. I, p. 59 with reference to A.Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japón, 1583—Adiciones del sumario de Japón, 1592*, ed. J.L.Alvarez-Taladriz, Tokyo. 1954, p. 231.
- 90 D.F.Lach, *op. cit.* p. 657 and C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 32–36.
- 91 See H.Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan*, Vol. 1, pp. 95–96.
- 92 Xavier was further stimulated by what Anjiro told him about Japanese culture, language, customs, religions and so forth.
- 93 See below, Ch. 6.
- 94 For the reports of Tomé Pires, Jorge Alvares and Garcia Escalante, see C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century*, p. 10–35.
- 95 Let us add: except in cartography. On medieval maps and globes Marco Polo’s Jipangu soon found its imaginary location far out in the Pacific. Most famous is Martin Behaim’s globe, made in Nürnberg in 1492, where Japan is named Cipango Insula and is described as an island where ‘gold grows’.
- 96 Tomé Pires’ *Suma oriental* was discovered in Paris by Professor Armando Cortesão and a scholarly translation was edited by Cortesão for the Hakluyt Society in 1944. Tomé Pires’ narrative was probably utilized by Braz d’Albuquerque for his *Commentarios*. C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650*, p. 10.
- 97 Tomé Pires, *Suma oriental*, p. 131 in the Hakluyt Society edition, 89–90, with the English title: *Tomé Pires: The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: an Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*.
- 98 Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 1–32.
- 99 Quotation from D.F.Lach, *op.cit.*, p. 664.
- 100 Diogo do Couto and his work *Década Quinta da ‘Ásia’* are presented in João de Barros, Diogo do Couto and Marcus de Jong, *Década quinta da ‘Ásia-*, in toto (Livro VIII, Cap. XII), and partly in C.R.Boxer, ‘Some Aspects of Portuguese Influence in Japan, 1542–1640’, in *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan 1543–1640*, V, pp. 17–18. Diogo do Couto ‘was an exceptionally reliable and painstaking historian.... He lived in India from 1559–1569, and again from 1571 until his death at Goa in 1616. He was thus in a position to know the real facts of the case if anybody was’. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 101 It should be noted that the junk and the Portuguese were here heading not for the Portuguese enclave by Ning-po but for Chincheo on the Fukien coast, one of the many places approached by the Portuguese in their commercial activities in China. For its exact location, see map in A.Kammerer, *La Découverte de la Chine*, pp. 102–103 (Pl. XIV). For more about Chincheo, see *ibid.*, pp. 100–105. For the sad end of the Portuguese at Chincheo according to Pinto, see the *Peregrinação*, Ch. 221 (pp. 509–510 in Catz’s translation). See also Catz’s note about Chincheo, *ibid.*, p. 565 and also C.R.Boxer’s discussion about the location of Chincheo in *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 313–326. See also L.Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, p. 104, who proposes that Chincheo was destroyed in 1547.
- 102 Translation found in C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, p. 25. The

- original is found in D.de Couto, *Década quinta da 'Ásia'*, Livro VIII, Kap. XII. The whole chapter, about 14 pages long, concerns Japan. A similar description of the arrival of the same three Portuguese, probably based on de Couto, is found in E.Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, pp. 309–310.
- 103 M.Cooper, *This Island of Japan, João Rodrigues' Account of 16th-Century Japan*, p. 72.
- 104 For João Rodrigues Tçuzzu and his life-long career in the East, see also C.R.Boxer, 'Padre João Rodriguez Tçucu S.J. and his Japanese Grammars of 1604 and 1620', in C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1643–1640*, VI, pp. 338–363.
- 105 It exceeds the scope of this study to relate the numerous volumes which were written about the first Portuguese in Japan and their narratives about Japan. Just the Jesuit literature may fill a library. For another layman who was read widely in Europe, let us mention a Dutchman, John Huyghen van Linschoten (ca. 1511–98) who wrote his *Itinerario* after returning from the East in 1592. What he wrote about Japan was based on hearsay and other sources but still of much interest. See *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, pp. 151–165.
- 106 Ōtomo kōhai-ki quoted in S.Watanabe, *Ōita-ke no rekishi*, p. 118.
- 107 For a biography of Ōtomo Sōrin, see, for example, M.Toyama, *Ōtomo Sōrin*, Tokyo, 1975. For a short presentation see, for example, G. Sansom, *A History of Japan 1334–1515*, pp. 109–114 *et passim* or J. Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 100–120 *et passim*. Ōtomo Yoshishige is mostly rendered with his Buddhist name Sōrin in literature, hence also in this work. More correctly, he was referred to by his lay priest name Sōrin from 1562.
- 108 Ōtomo Sōrin's missive is quoted in Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 312–313.
- 109 Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão) is mentioned again and again in the literature but nothing is certain about him. Probably he was a merchant or captain on a ship that visited Japan several times. For example, it is reported that he came on a ship from Lampacau to Hirado in 1555. *Ibid.*, p.505.
- 110 Father Francis (Francisco) Xavier (1506–52) was the first Christian missionary in Japan. He was a Jesuit and stayed in Japan for 27 months, from 15 August 1549 to 20 November 1552. In this work he is usually referred to as Xavier. See below, Ch. 12.
- 111 Anjiro, in a letter from Goa to Ignatius Loyola in 1548, mentions Alvares Vaz who helped him to leave Japan in 1546. Perhaps there were one Diogo Vaz and one Alvares Vaz among the the first Portuguese to arrive in Bungo. See J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 39.
- 112 S.Watanabe, *Ōita-ken no rekishi*, p. 118, mentions that five-six Portuguese, including Jorge de Faria, came on a Chinese junk in 1545.
- 113 It is an indication of continued *teppō* production that around 1590 Hideyoshi ordered 200 *teppō* (of 20 *momme* caliber) from Tanegashima in exchange for military service. See the *Tanegashima kafu* under the 16th lord, Hisatoki (1569–1611), and M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, p. 65.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

- 1 Nanpo Bunshi (1555–1620), a Confucian scholar and abbot at Dairyūji Temple in Satsuma, wrote this report for Tanegashima Hisatoki (1568–1611), the 16th lord of Tanegashima. The forbears referred to are the fifteen generations of Tanegashima lords who ruled the island before him. As for the *Teppōki* and its author, Nanpo Bunshi, see Marisa di Russo, *Il Teppōki: il manoscritto e l'autore*, in ANNALI dell'Istituto di Napoli, Vol. 35 (Nuova Serie XXV), 3, 1975, pp. 359–376, tavv. V; and Vol. 37 (Nuova Serie XXVIII), pp. 55–79, tavv. IX, 1977. A full translation of the *Teppōki* is found in this work in Italian; partial translations are found in R.Tsunoda, Wm. T.de Bary and D.Keene, eds, *Sources of the Japanese Tradition*, New York, 1958, pp. 317–320 and in J. Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 42. All translations have been consulted and much vocabulary has been taken from these translations. di Russo's work has, however, been most useful because of its thoroughness. Other partial translations exist, mostly in German., for example in H.Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan*, Vol. 1, pp. 29–32. See Marisa di Russo's article (1975) for a list of them. Another translation of the *Teppōki*—by Kikuoka Tadashi, found in *The East*, Vol. 16, 1980—has come to the writer's knowledge after the manuscript of this study was finished. It is gratefully acknowledged that some adaptations have been made thanks to this work.
- 2 Ōsumi, province on Kyushu, to the east of Kagoshima, today part of Kagoshima and Miyazaki Prefectures. Gūshū, Sino-Japanese for Ōsumi Province. Tanegashima is located to the south of Ōsumi.
- 3 About 70 km.
- 4 Tanegashima is shortened to Tanega (or Tanego) in the text.
- 5 Probably at about 5 or 6 a.m.
- 6 China is referred to by the current dynasty name, Ming (1279–1644).
- 7 The full name in the *Tanegashima kafu* is Nishimura Oribenōjō Tokitsura.
- 8 This last sentence is also translated as follows: 'They understand to a certain degree the distinction between superior and inferior, but I do not know whether they have a proper system of ceremonial etiquette'. Paul A.Cohen, 'Europe Goes East, The first impact of the West on China and Japan', in *Half the World, The History and Culture of China and Japan*, ed. A.Toynbee, p. 264.
- 9 J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 42, simplifies and shortens the translation. For example, the conversation in the sand is omitted. R. Tsunoda *et al*, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, pp. 317–321, has an almost complete translation. Only short omissions are noted. In comparison, M.di Russo's translation is complete and, furthermore, annotated.
- 10 About 51 km.
- 11 Today's Nishinoomote, still the main city and harbour on the island.
- 12 Tanegashima Shigetoki, the 13th lord of Tanegashima, the grandfather of Hisatoki, who had handed over the lordship of the island to his young son Tokitaka not long

before the arrival of the junk. Tokitaka was thus the 14th Tanegashima lord.

13 Probably at about 9 or 10 p.m.

14 Shuso or Shuza, two readings for the same Buddhist title, used within the Zen sects for high-ranking priests. Lit. 'Chief Seat'.

15 Hyūga, province on Kyushu, today partly belonging to Miyazaki Prefecture. Nisshū is a Sino-Japanese rendition of the name.

16 One *shaku* is about 30 cm in length.

17 *Myōyaku*, 'wondrous powder', usually refers to a medicine to cure any illness.

Gunpowder had been introduced earlier and was used by the Mongols in bombards when they invaded Japan in (1274 and) 1281. It should be remembered that it was the Chinese who invented gun-powder and perhaps also first used it in warfare.

During the Crusades in the 1100s the European knights became acquainted with an incendiary called 'Greek fire', a Byzantine secret weapon that was perhaps a gun-powder mixture.

18 *Komanaku* or *koku*, 'swan', refers to the bull's-eye in the middle of the target.

19 Quotation from Confucius' *Lun yü* (Jpn. *Rongo*), 'The Analects', II: 26, 6, which reads in Legge's translation, 'I do not say that my ability extends to these things, but I should wish to learn them'.

20 Reference to the Confucian Book, *Ta hsüeh* (Jpn. *Daigaku*), 'The Great Learning', which says in the first chapter (1:4), 'Wishing to regulate their persons, they first rectified their hearts' (Legge's translation).

21 *Tenka no ri*, lit., 'principle of the world'. The passage shows that Tokitaka, or rather Nanpo Bunshi, was acquainted with Neo-Confucian thought.

22 See *Tao Te Ching*, Ch. 52. Another translation: 'To see what is small is clarity'.

23 *Chōkyū*, The Festival of the Chrysanthemum, on the 9th day of the 9th month on the lunar calendar.

24 One hundred steps equal 600 *shaku* (180 metres), according to Japanese estimation.

25 These two *teppō* were given the names *furusato* (or *kokyō*) and *wakizashi*. They were in existence until 1877 when they were destroyed in a fire in connection with the Seinan civil war. It should be noticed that Pinto only mentions *one* musket. The *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* are to be trusted, however, and the conclusion is that *two* muskets were purchased and at a high price to boot. After all, the Portuguese were merchants. Cf. the *Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 134 (p. 278 in R.D.Catz's translation).

26 Sasakawa Koshirō can also be read Shinokawa Shōshirō.

27 Negoro, Shingon Temple in Kii (Kishū), today's Wakayama Prefecture. See Ch. 10 below. The *bō* in Suginobō may indicate that he was a young monk. Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō was his older brother. H. Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai*, p. 38.

28 One *ri* equals 3.9 kilometres or nearly 2.5 English miles.

29 This legend about the lord of Jo (Ch. Shu) and lord Kisatsu (Ch. Chi-tsa) is found in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi*, *Shih chia* 2. The story is neither correct nor complete in the *Teppōki*. In the *Shih chi* Kisatsu meets the lord of Jo on his way to Loyang. He understands that the lord of Jo, without saying it, desires his sword, but he needs the sword on his way to Loyang. He decides, however, to give the sword to the lord of

Jo on his way back home. When he returns, the lord of Jo is dead, but living up to his promise, he hangs the sword in a tree by the lord's grave. When people asks him about it, he explains that he is living up to his heart's desire.

30 *Jūshū*, lit, 'ten wraps'.

31 The version translated by H.Haas is from this point linked with the Yaita tradition and relates how Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada sacrificed his 'wunderschönes Mädchen' Wakasa to obtain the secrets of making the *teppō*. H.Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan*, p. 32.

32 Kumano Bay is located to the southeast on Tanegashima.

33 Rozan (Ch. Lu-shan), locality and mountain in Chiang-chi, China.

34 Tenjiku, ancient (Buddhist) name for India.

35 This journey to China is not mentioned in other available literature. T.Nishimura thinks that it could have been one of the *kangō* official expeditions to Ming China. T.Nishimura, *Nantō ikōden*, pp. 31–32. See also below.

36 Jaku or Kaijaku (Ch. Jo or Hai-jo), the God of the Sea. See *Chuang Tzu*, the *Ch'iu-shui* (Autumn-water) chapter. The whole phrase, 'gazing seawards and turning to the God of Sea', is a quotation from that chapter.

37 Ning-po was the gateway for official Japanese trade with China. See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 69–74 and F.Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, Chs 66–70 (pp. 125–135 in R.D.Catz's translation) *et passim*. See also Ch. 1, n. 29 above.

38 Fusō (Ch. Fu sang), poetic name for Japan, used by both Chinese and Japanese until this day.

39 The administrative division of Japan under the Ritsuryō system, in place since the Nara era. The *Goki* were Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi and Settsu; the *Shichidō* were the Saikaidō, Nankaidō, Sanyō'dō, San'indō, Tōkaidō, Tōsandō and Hokurikudō. The *Shichidō* comprised all of what would be considered traditional Japan.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1 The translations of both the Shigetoki and Tokitaka chronicles are based on handwritten copies of the *Tanegashima kafu*, one in kanbun and the other in Japanese (*kakikudashibun*), found at the Prefectural Library (*Kenritsu-toshokan*) in Kagoshima.

2 Honnōji was one of the main temples of the Nichiren Sect in Kyoto, mostly known for the rôle it played when Oda Nibunaga succumbed in the flames of the temple in 1582. The temple was moved to its present location by Hideyoshi.

3 For Lord Nisshin see below, this chapter, n. 23. Yoshihisa is probably a mistake; it should be Takahisa who was then the *daimyo* and in close cooperation with his father.

4 Kaseda is located to the south in today's Kagoshima Prefecture (see Map 5). Masegawa and Fujinohara have not been located.

- 5 Shimazu Takahisa (1514–71) was appointed the 13th *shugo-daimyo* of Satsuma when aged 13 in 1526. It was under his long rule that Satsuma regained its strength. I have found it unnecessary to trace all the people mentioned in the chronicles. It is enough for us to know that they all belonged to the samurai families on Tanegashima and Kyushu.
- 6 Urata is found to the northeast on Tanegashima.
- 7 This is the only mention we have of Naotoki's name being changed to Tokitaka. 'Later' might mean soon afterwards and before the father returned from Yakushima. It is a certain fact that he is referred to as Tokitaka five months later when the first Portuguese are reported in the *Tanegashima kafu*.
- 8 Ships in official missions were named with numbers, *Ichigōsen*, 'Ship Number One', *Nigōsen*, 'Ship Number Two', etc. This should then have been one ship of several on a trade journey to China. No trade mission in this year can be corroborated in other sources.
- 9 It seems that the waters around Tanegashima was infested with pirates in the early sixteenth century.
- 10 All four titles were only honorary but meant much in the traditional social society. The first had military connotation, the second legal connotation, the third rank connotation, the fourth administrative connotation within the *ritsuryō* law.
- 11 Shimazu Tadaoki cannot be traced in available name dictionaries.
- 12 Both Ōmine and Hazumine are places to the northwest on the way to Nishinoomote (Akōgi).
- 13 The New Castle was in the centre of today's Nishinoomote, now part of a park area.
- 14 Hongenji is a temple in Nishinoomote. The temple was built 1469 by the 11th-generation Tanegashima lord, Tokiuji (1447–1504) and became the Tanegashima family temple. It is the biggest temple on Tanegashima. It belongs to the Nichiren Sect. M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, 55–56 and H.Ogasawara, *Teppō denrai*, p. 78.
- 15 The oath was signed on the 24th day of the 3rd month, that is, two days after the invasion.
- 16 Both the title of Lord Konoe Taneie (1502–66), a former *kanpaku* regent, and the wording of the message would make the reader think that the message came from the emperor, but it is safe to assume that it came from the shogun, Yoshiteru (r. 1546–65), who usurped the power and virtue of the emperor. See T.Nishimura, *Nantō ikōden*, pp. 36–37. This is an example of how shogunal and imperial power merged in Muromachi times. Konoe Taneie seems also otherwise to have been close to and the spokesman of Shogun Yoshiteru. For example, in 1560 he attempted to promote peace between Satsuma and Hyūga on orders from Shogun Yoshiteru. See H.P.Varley, *The Ōnin War*, pp. 109–110 *et passim*.
- 17 Kimotsuki and Meguri, locations and domains in the Ōsumi area (see Map 5).
- 18 The battle at Meguri was a setback for Shimazu Takahisa. His younger brother, Tadamasa (1520–61), and a number of soldiers were killed in battle there.
- 19 Small island to the west of Tanegashima, one of the twelve islands granted to the first Tanegashima, Lord Nobumoto (see Map 2).
- 20 Kuchinoerabu, small volcanic island (38.04 km²) to the west of Yakushima, belonging to the Tanegashima lord (see Map 2). Today part of Kagoshima

Prefecture.

- 21 Hetsuka is located to the northeast on the Sata promontory, the southernmost point in Ōsumi Province (see Map 5).
- 22 Itō Yoshisuke, d. 1584, was in constant warfare with Satsuma and was finally defeated by Shimazu Yoshihisa (1576) and fled to Bungo where Ōtomo Sōrin received him. Hyūga was allied with Bungo and Itō was married to Ōtomo Sōrin's daughter. See J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol.II, p.99.
- 23 Shimazu Tadayoshi is referred to both with the title Sōshū (Sagami no kami) and the pen name Nisshin (also Jisshin) (short for Nisshin-sai, also Jisshin-sai). Tadayoshi was the father of Shimazu Takahisa. It can be imagined that it was the father who took care of the government while the son was young. Tadayoshi was a colourful person who took an interest in Zen Buddhism and Neo-Confucian philosophy, as well as in the national Shinto creed, and created 'a three creeds in one' school, called *nichigaku*. If Xavier had been open-minded and had known about the eclectic tendency of Ming and Muromachi thought and religion, he could have benefited from meeting the father Tadayoshi when he met the son Takahisa.
- 24 This infant was fated to become the 16th Tanegashima lord under the name of Hisatoki (1568–1611). The mother is remembered under the name of Furuta Gozen, 'Lady Furuta', in Tanegashima folklore. M. Yanagita, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–36.
- 25 Shimazu Yoshihisa (1533–1611) defeated Itō Yoshisuke (1576) and Ōtomo Sōrin (1578), but submitted to Hideyoshi and ceded his domains to his brother Yoshihiro (1535–1619) in 1587.
- 26 Tokitaka's younger brother, Tokishiki, is mentioned in the Tokitaka chronicle where his military excellence is praised and he is given the honorary title Musashi no kami. In this text, he is referred to by his other honorary title Danjō, a title that goes back to the legal system of the *ritsuryō* law.
- 27 For more on this crucial period in Kyushu history, see, for example, J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 99–110. It is not mentioned how many samurai and soldiers accompanied the lord on these operations but it cannot have been many. Later, at the time of the Korean invasion in 1592, the number of 78 soldiers is mentioned in the *Tanegashima kafu* (under the 16th lord, Hisatoki).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

- 1 The others among the Twelve Islands were Yakushima, Takeshima, Kuchinoerabujima, Iōjima, Kuchinoshima, Nakanoshima, Gajajima, Tairajima, Akusekijima, Suwanosejima and Takarashima (see Map 2).
- 2 Inomoto mentions that Nobumoto was enfeoffed about 1191–92 and arrived in his domain about 1201–03. M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, pp. 42–101 and p. 124, also H.Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai*, p. 47.
- 3 As for a recent, up-to-date presentation of the history of Tanegashima, see M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, pp. 31–118. Tanegashima Tokikuni was born on the

island.

4 M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, pp. 187–189.

5 The year is uncertain. See translation in Ch. 3 above of Tokitaka's chronicle in the *Tanegashima kafu*.

6 For a short review of the early history of the Tanegashima family and island, see S.Imoto, 'Tanegashima no fūdo to bunka', in M.Izuka and K.Iida, eds, *Teppō denrai zengo*, pp. 130–135.

7 Tanegashima Hisatoki is found in Vols 8 and 9 of the *Tanegashima kafu*. He should not be confused with the 16th-generation Tanegashima Tokihisa with the same first name. It is of interest that the writing of this chronicle coincided with the general interest in historical work in seventeenth-century Tokugawa Japan. Even the scholars on far-away Tanegashima took an interest in Neo-Confucian thought, beginning their studies with the *Ta hsüeh* (Daigaku) among the Four Confucian Classics.

8 Y.Ishihara states that Nobumoto was born in 1183 and left Kamakura in about 1202 for his southern fief. He bases himself on legendary sources, such as the *Tokunaga-shi keizu*, 'The Genealogical Record of the Tokunaga Family'. The whole Nobumoto tradition is well presented in M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, pp. 42–48 and Y.Ishihara, *Nihon wo kaeta!*, pp. 96–99.

9 *Kagoshima-ken kyōdo-shi taikei*, p. 290.

10 There had been intermittent warfare between Satsuma and Hyūga over a couple of decades, and Tanegashima was participating on the side of Satsuma. See J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 99.

11 This means that Satsuma had only limited control of Ōsumi province until the 1570s. As long as Nejime Shigenaga was the ruler of Nejime, he seems to have ruled his domain independently. It can easily be imagined that there was no love lost between Tanegashima and Nejime after the warfare in 1543 and 1544. When an emissary from Nejime was killed in a revenge drama in 1560, it can only have added to the tension between the domains. And when the shipping between Kagoshima and Tanegashima was attacked by Nejime pirates, this must have caused further tension. When we also hear of islands under Tanegashima being attacked by Nejime forces and burnt and Ōdomari in Nejime being invaded and burnt by Tanegashima forces, it must also have added to the enmity. It could also mean that Nejime and the Ōsumi peninsula challenged Satsuma and the Kagoshima peninsula as regards the suzerainty of Tanegashima and the other islands to the south.

12 The Portuguese *náo* or English *carracks*, often also called galleons, were merchants vessels, originally of about 400 tons and later built of 800, 900 or even 1,200 tons. They were larger than and superior to the junks which measured about 200 tons. See J.R.Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770*, pp. 12–15.

13 See the *Peregrinação*, Ch. 134. Quotation from R.D.Catz's translation, p. 278.

14 *Kanpaku* was the office of advisor to the Emperor, also called Regent, since Heian times, still an active office in Muromachi times. Konoe Taneie (1502–66) belonged to the nobility of Fujiwara origin who served as *kanpaku*. It is mentioned otherwise in the *Tanegashima kafu* that the Tanegashima lords were in touch with the Konoe house, where, for example, the 12th lord, Tadatoki, learned the three arts of poetry,

ceremonial bow and arrow and *kemari* football for three years from 1496. Perhaps also later lords were in touch with the Konoe house when they visited Kyoto.

15 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 47.

16 Piracy is recorded in Japanese literature from at least Heian times. Domestic piracy turned increasingly into overseas piracy after the Mongol invasions (1274 and 1281), and at first was directed via Tsushima into Korea. Early piracy seems to have been due to famine and poverty. The first big *wakō* raids began about 1350. Later the *wakō* piracy reached China and were at their most severe in Muromachi times when China was practically invaded by armadas of pirate ships. These incursions reached their peak by 1555 but continued without interruption until 1588 when Hideyoshi put a stop to piracy by law (*kaizokuchōji-rei* or *umi no katanagari-rei*). Hideyoshi's own invasion of Korea followed in 1592. K.Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, pp. 428–556 *et passim*, B.H.Hazard, 'The Formative Years of the Wakō, 1223–63', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 22 (1967), pp. 260–277, M.Kanaya, *Kaizokutachi no chūsei*, p. 74 *et passim*; Y.Yamauchi, *Kaizoku to umijiro*, p. 201 *et passim*; and T.Tanaka, *Wakō*, pp. 22–24 *et passim*.

17 Later in the *Tanegashima kafu* it is mentioned that the 16th lord, Hisatoki (1558–1611), joined the Korea Campaign in 1592 with 78 men and that the 17th lord, Tadatoki (1612–54), left for the Shimabara Campaign in 1638 with 200 men.

18 As mentioned above, the 12th Tanegashima lord, Tadatoki (1468–1536), stayed for three years in Kyoto from when he was 18 until 21 years old (1496–99). He learned 'bow and horse' (*kyūba*, that is, archery and horse-riding), *kemari* football and the art of poetry as well. He began the New Year Bow and Arrow Festival (*Mato hajime-shiki*) in 1500, a festival that is still today celebrated at Nishinoomote on 11 January. Later, after becoming the lord of the island in 1504, he arranged a 1,000-stanza *renga* gathering in 1509. The guess is that the later Tanegashima lords stayed at the Satsuma mansion in Kyoto and used the time to learn the same noble sports and cultural achievements as Lord Tadatoki. M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, p. 125.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1 For more about Tanegashima Nobumoto, see M.Yanagita, *Tanegashima no hito*, pp. 1–3. According to this source, Minamoto Yoritomo bestowed the twelve southern islands (*Nankaijūnitō*) on Nobumoto through the good offices of Hōjō Tokimasa after Nobumoto had performed a dance that delighted Minamoto Yoritomo. Nobumoto seems to belong more to legend than to historical fact.

2 In statement by Luís d'Almeida, quoted in Cooper, *This Island of Japan*, p. 264.

3 T.Udagawa mentions that the early muskets sent as presents to Shogun Yoshiteru earned him the title of *shugo* over some four provinces beyond Bungo. This means that Yoshiteru also used the muskets to bolster his shaky position as shogun by winning support from important daimyo. T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai, heiki ga kitaru seiki no tanjō*, pp. 22–23.

- 4 Nor could the muskets have been wrapped for long if Tokitaka ‘trained day by day until he could hit the target a hundred times out of one hundred shots’.
- 5 According to various sources, Suginobō’s name was Suginobō Myōsan and Tsuda Kenmotsu Kazunaga no jō was his older brother. See T.Haraguchi, *Kagoshima-ken no rekishi*, p. 126 and T.Nishimura, *Nantō ikōden*, pp. 20–21. According to one tradition, Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō had lived since 1528 on Tanegashima and was married there. H.Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai*, p. 41.
- 6 On the other hand, a painter, Jukō, from Sakai is mentioned in the *Tanegashima kafu*. He played a role when Tokitaka capitulated in 1543 but is not mentioned otherwise.
- 7 See also G.Sansom, *A History of Japan*, pp. 267–270.
- 8 K.Naganuma, ‘Teppō no denrai’, in *Rekishi chiri*, 23, No. 6 (1914), pp. 623–635, and D.M.Brown, ‘The Impact of Firearms on Japanese Warfare, 1543–98’, in *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (1948), pp. 236–237.
- 9 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 103–104 *et passim*.
- 10 T.Nishimura, *Nantō ikōden*, p. 34.
- 11 T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai, heiki ga kitaru seiki no tanjō*, pp. 156–160.
- 12 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 107.
- 13 S.Tokoro, ‘Teppō denrai wo megutte’, pp. 53–54. Professor Tokoro mentions two works, *Inryōkan nichiroku* (1466) and *Hekizan nichiriku* (1468) in which the term *teppō* appears. In the first work envoys from Ryukyu bring two weapons (*reihō*) and in the second work the *teppō* is mentioned in the context of the Ōnin War (1467–77). The question is whether these *teppō* were not the pre-Tanegashima kind of *teppō*, that is, bombards.
- 14 K.Tsuboi mentions an early work, *Intoku-taiheiki*, that gives 1501, and another early work, *Hōjō-godaiki*, that gives 1510. Both works are of later dates and not to be relied upon. Tsuboi concludes that arms of one kind or another could have reached Japan at early dates but that they could not be used. It was on Tanegashima in 1543 that the new firearm was first understood and shot.
- 15 See translations below of the *Teppōki*, the *Tanegashima kafu* and the *Kunitomo teppōki*. See also T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 34–35.
- 16 Rafael Perestrelo is often mentioned as the first Portuguese to reach China. He arrived at Canton in 1515. However, Jorge Alvares is mentioned as having arrived at a Chinese island, Tamão, already in 1513. For a discussion of the subject, see J.M.Braga, ‘The “Tamão” of the Portuguese Pioneers’, in *T’ien Hsia Monthly*, Vol VIII, No. 5, May 1939, pp. 420–432 and J.M.Braga, *China Landfall 1513, Jorge Alvares’ Voyage to China*, pp. 1–27. See also J.P.Oliveira e Costa, ‘A Coroa Portuguesa e a China (1508–1531) do Sonho Manuelino ao Realismo Joanino’, in *Estudos de História do Relacionamento Luso-Chinês*, p. 20.
- 17 This is probably an exaggeration. Wang Chih’s *wakō* used muskets and perhaps cannon by 1554. See Tschepe, *Japans Beziehungen zu China seit den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1600*, p. 242. A picture of a Chinese war junk from 1662 only shows warriors brandishing swords and lances.
- 18 Gohō (Wang Chih) later settled on the Gotō Islands where he had his residence on Fukue Island and became a *wakō* leader. S.Miyawaki, *Muromachi sengoku-shi kikō*,

p. 207.

19 S.R.Turnbull, source not found in later reading.

20 The *kangō* certificates were patents (or tallies) which were divided, one part being taken by the tributary nation and another part being retained in China. The joining of the parts of the patent at a specified place proved whether it was a *bonafide* tributary mission. D.M.Brown, *Money Economy in Medieval Japan, A Study in the Use of Coins*, p. 20.

21 For a review of the developments which led to the Hosokawa and Ōuchi dominance and their competition, see S.Kashiwabara, 'Nichimin kangō-bōeki ni okeru Hosokawa-Ōuchi nishi no kōsō', in *Shigaku zasshi*, Vol XXV (1914), pp. 1128–1172 and pp. 1237–1265.

22 K-w. So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China during the 16th Century*, pp. 173–190 *et passim*.

23 The irony of the matter is that China, in turn, was heavily dependent on imported copper in order to mint the exported currency. J.W.Hall, 'Notes on the Early Ch'ing Copper Trade with Japan', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (December 1949), pp. 444–445. It should be noted that Japan had minted currency in Nara times.

24 Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, pp. 527–556, *et passim*.

25 The *wakō* activities began not long after the Mongol invasions 1274 and 1281. The raids are usually divided into the early era when they were directed against Korea and northern China (until about 1420). The later era when the raids ranged along the whole Chinese coast began about 1520 and continued until Hideyoshi brought them to an end in 1588. For a popular review of the *wakō* history with illustrations, see *Dai-Minkoku to wakō* (Vol. 7, *Kaigai shiten—Nihon no rekishi*, pp. 97–103 and pp. 138–149.

26 The ships from Ōuchi sailed as a rule from Hakata on northwestern Kyushu.

27 When the Inland Sea became dominated by pirates and the Ōuchi family, Sakai and the central provinces turned to an eastern route via Tanegashima on their way to China. M.Izuka, 'Sekai-shi no naka no Tanegashima', in M.Izuka and K.Iida, *Teppō denrai zengo*, pp. 16–17 and D.M.Brown, *Money Economy in Medieval Japan*, pp. 19–27.

28 M.C.Haguenauer does not hesitate to call this ship a *Kangō-bune*, 'Ship of Kangō Mission', and he might be correct since the *kangō* ships were counted in this manner. M.C.Haguenauer, 'Encore la question des Gores', in *Journal Asiatique*, CCXXVI (1935), pp. 67–90.

29 One has to turn to Chinese sources for information about the *wakō* activities in China. In the *History of Ming (Ming shih)* there are yearly accounts about the incursions along the coast. See Japan in the Chinese Dynasties, pp. 106–161. In a Chinese work, *Ch'ou-hai t'u-pien* (Jpn. Chūkai zuhen), written by Hu Tsung-hsien (Jpn. Ko Shūken) in about 1562, Satsuma comes first in a list of provinces from where the *wakō* originate and Tanegashima is found at the end of the list! It is apparent that Satsuma was a staging location for *wakō* activities. K.Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, p. 599. For a list of all *wakō* incursions in Korea and China, see T.Tanaka, *Wakō*, pp. 200–207. See also Y.Takegoshi, *Wakōki*, pp. 77–108. It should

be noticed that Takekoshi mentions a *wakō* raid as late as 1609.

- 30 Y. Takegoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, p. 292.
- 31 N.S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, pp. 21–22. It should again be stressed that piracy was endemic in this age. Japan had its domestic piracy which can be followed in literature since at least the tenth century. The Japanese coastline with all its inlets and coves and isles and islets was ideal for piratic activities. This piracy was in Muromachi times first extended to Korea and then to China. China suffered greatly from the depredations in the sixteenth century. It was difficult for the Ming military to defend the long coastline from above Liaotung to below Hainan Island. The raids continued until Hideyoshi forbid both domestic and overseas piracy.
- 32 K. Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, p. 595
- 33 C.R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xxiv and K. Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, p. 552.
- 34 Quotation from the *Fukien t'ung-chih*, Ch. 267, p. 14, in C.R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xxv.
- 35 In a letter by L. Frois, quoted by C.R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xxxiii. Original in Jordão de Freitas, *Fernão Mendes Pinto. Sua ultima viagem á China (1554–1555)*, reprinted from *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, III, Lisbon 1905.
- 36 C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, p. 257.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 269.
- 38 Yoshikatsu was the 7th Ashikaga shogun, ruling between 1441 and 1449.
- 39 It was after King Shō Hashi (r. 1422–1439) completed the unification of the Ryukyus in 1423 that its trade became lively southwards and also northwards. T. Tanaka, 'Japan's Relations with Overseas Countries', in John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi, eds, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, pp. 171–172. The Ryukyus remained an independent kingdom until it was invaded by Satsuma forces in 1609 and became formally a part of Japan, although retaining a degree of freedom that allowed relations with China.
- 40 The Ryukyu Islands already began tributary relations with China while they were divided and the Ming emperor was delighted according to the *Ming Shih*, 'The Ming History'. This relationship, beginning in 1372, continued through the Ming and most of the Ching dynasty. See T. Noguchi, *Chūgoku to Kyūryū*, p. 49 *et passim*. The Chinese annals list no less than 171 tributary missions from the Ryukyu Islands while only 19 from Japan. K. Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, p. 352. For the history of the Ryukyu kingdom, see, for example, K. Takara, *Ryūkyū ōkoku no kōzō*, pp. 1–38.
- 41 Martin de Rada saw 'some men from Liu-ch'iu, whom we call Lequios, who came to bring their tribute' at Foochow in 1575. Foochow was the port of entry on the tribute route assigned to the Ryukyu Islands. Martin de Rada is quoted in D.R. Lach, *Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Europe, The Sixteenth Century*, p. 789.
- 42 T. Tanaka presents another example, of sapanwood, which was highly valued in China. Due to China's isolationist policy, sapanwood came to Japan via the Ryukyus and was then re-exported to China by the Japanese. T. Tanaka, 'Japan's

Relations with Overseas Countries', p. 171.

43 For longer lists of export and import articles, see, for example, T. Tsuchiya, *An Economic History of Japan*, 138–139 *et passim*.

44 See S.Kawazoe, 'Japan and East Asia', in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 3, 'Medieval Japan', pp. 396–446, especially pp. 445–446.

45 See T.Tanaka, 'Japan's Relations with Overseas Countries', in John W.Hall and Toyoda Takeshi, eds, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, pp. 171–173. See also the *Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 66 (pp. 125–127 in Catz's translation) *et passim*.

46 As already noticed above, there is some confusion in the literature about whether it was Jorge Alvares or Rafael Perestrelo who was the first Portuguese to reach China. According to J.M.Braga, Jorge Alvares was the first in 1513 or 1514 and Rafael Perestrelo was the next in 1515. J. M.Braga says 1513 in *China Landfall 1513*, *Jorge Alvares Voyage to China*, pp. 1–27, and 1514 in 'The "Tamão" of the Portuguese Pioneers', in T'ien Hsia Monthly, Vol. VIII, May, 1939, p. 420–432. Cf.L. Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, p. 87. In either case one must agree with Braga that 'the Portuguese explorers packed a great wealth of bold, successful exploration and nautical enterprise' in only fifteen years between Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in 1498 and Jorge Alvares' voyage to China in 1513 or 1514. This Jorge Alvares, who died in 1521, should not be confused with the Jorge Alvares who introduced Anjiro to Xavier and is mentioned in the *Peregrinaçam*. See above and below. Cf. L.Bourdon, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

47 R.Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* and Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, p. 105.

48 E.W.Dahlgren, 'A Contribution to the History of the Discovery of Japan', p. 243.

49 For documented presentations of the Ryukyu and the Gores, see L. Bourdon, *La compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, pp. 110–115 and Y. Okamoto, *jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 80–98. The Ryukyu trade stretched not only west to China and north to Japan but also south to Malacca, Java, Sumatra and probably other places.

50 *Nagasakiken-shi*, ed. Nagasakiken-shi henshū iinkai, p. 6 and L. Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, p. 170.

51 Eleven such official voyages from Japan to China were undertaken from 1432 to 1548, that is, in the period when the Portuguese appeared in Chinese and Japanese waters. Earlier the Bakufu sponsored licensed trade with Ming China from 1405 to 1419. G.Sansom, *A History of Japan*, p. 270.

52 K.Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, p. 515. Bungo was a daimiate to the northeast of Kyushu, today belonging to Ōita Prefecture. See page 77 above for its importance for the first Portuguese. Yamaguchi is today the capital of Yamaguchi Prefecture, located at the southern tip of Honshu. From the fourteenth century it was ruled by the Ōuchi family and was one of the leading daimiates of the Muromachi era, thriving on seaborne trade in cooperation with Hakata on Kyushu. After the Ōnin War, the Ōuchi daimyo controlled the traffic between Hyōgo (today's Kōbe) and Shimonoseki. J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 58 and G.Sansom, *A History of Japan*, p. 234 *et passim*.

53 C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650*, p. 253.

- 54 For the official Chinese report about the frightful piracy along the Chinese coasts in Ming times, see the *History of Ming (Ming shih)*, in *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 106–161. For a comprehensive Western source, see P.A.Tscherpe, *Japans Beziehungen zu China seit den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1600*, pp. 200–305. Tanegashima is mentioned in Chinese sources as one of the places from where the *wakō* came. See, for example, Y.Takegoshi, *Wakōki*, p. 60.
- 55 Ikegami, Hiroko, *Sengoku no gunzō*, p. 164.
- 56 P.A.Tschepe, *Japans Beziehungen zu China*, pp. 238–250. It is in this context mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 252) that the *wakō* were equipped with muskets (*chōjū*) which caused consternation among the Chinese who apparently were not equally equipped. This was in 1554.
- 57 The Chinese authorities complained to Leonel de Sousa about this circumstance when he negotiated with them about the trade agreement in 1553–1554. C.R.Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550–1770*, p. 32.
- 58 C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 14–15. Old Japanese sources regarding the *wakō* activities are indeed scarce as also regarding private trade in the sixteenth century. As for the *wakō* raids one has mainly to rely on Korean and Chinese sources, for example, the *Ming Shih*, that deals with these raids on every page in its chapter about Japan. See Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 92–98 and K.Akiyama, ‘Muromachi shoki ni okeru wakō no chōryō to Ōei gaikō jijō’, in *Bungaku zasshi*, 1931, p. 967 *et passim*. However, one report by a Japanese can be found in Y.Takegoshi, *Wakōki*, pp. 56–58.
- 59 For a bibliography of such works, see T.Tanaka, ‘Japan’s Relations with Overseas Countries’, pp. 208–230.
- 60 For a short resumé of these trade activities, see C.R.Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp. 1–11 and *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 90–120, 425–427. See also D.M.Brown, *Money Economy in Medieval Japan*, pp. 56–66, 72–77.
- 61 C.R.Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415–1825: A Succinct Survey*, p. 41.
- 62 Lampacao, an island not far from Canton which the Portuguese also used as an entrepôt in their (clandestine) commerce with the Chinese. For its location, see Kammerer, *La Découverte de la Chine*, Pl. II and III. See also A.Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*, p. 9. According to Ljungstedt, the Chinese ‘concentrated, in 1554, the whole foreign trade at Lampacao, an island so near Macao, that it can...be seen by the naked eye from the top of the hill’. For a discussion of the name Lampacao, see T.Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644*, pp. 87–88.
- 63 For the story about Macao and its establishment ‘on a rocky peninsula’, see, for example, A.Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China* from p. 10 onwards. For maps of the ‘rocky peninsula’ with the town and harbour of Macao, see *ibid.*, pp. 220–221. The peninsula was part of an island, usually also named Macao (or Hsiang-shan). It is not clear how the Portuguese came to settle there. One theory is that they cleared the area of pirates, to the relief and joy of the Chinese, who allowed them to occupy, or rather rent, the peninsula for trading purposes. See T.Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644*, pp. 88–108. The

first church was built at Macao in 1558 and the Jesuits were established there from 1565. J.-P. Duteil, *Le rôle des Jesuites en Chine*, p. 20. See also, for example, W. Franke, *China and the West*, pp. 30–34.

64 C.R.Boxer, 'Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan Three Hundred Years Ago', in *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543–1640*, III, p. 28. It might be noted that also other ports in Japan were visited. See Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 510–514.

65 S.Iwao, 'Japanese Foreign Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries' in *Acta Asiatica*, 30 (February, 1976), p. 6.

66 An English traveller, Ralph Fitch, who visited the East in 1585–91, witnessed the profitable trade of the Portuguese and wrote: 'When the Portugales goe from Macao in China to Japan, they carrie much white Silke, Gold, Muske, and Porcelanes: *and they bring from thence nothing but Silver*. They have a great Carake which goeth thither every yeere, and shee bringeth from thence every yeere above six hundred thousand Crusadoes' (Boxer's emphasis). The great profit earned on the Macao-Nagasaki route was verified by Diogo do Couto who wrote that 'the silver which comes from Japan every year in our great ship of commerce (*não de trato*)...is all exchanged for silver bullion which is worth more than a million of gold', and by Linschoten who said that the captain of a yearly *não* could earn a profit of 150,000 to 200,000 ducats on a single voyage and that the command of the annual *não* to Japan was a post greatly coveted by all Portuguese officers in the East. See C.R. Boxer, 'The Affair of the "Madre de Deus"', A Chapter in the History of the Portuguese in Japan', in *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543–1640*, I, pp. 9–13, where Fitch, do Couto and Linschoten are quoted.

67 See J.H.van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, Vol. I, pp. 146–147.

68 'Dwarf robber' is C.R.Boxer's translation of *wakō*, usually rendered as 'Japanese pirate'. It should just be remembered that the majority of the *wakō* were probably non-Japanese—mostly Chinese—and that their most famous leader, Wang Chih, was Chinese. As for the 'dwarf robbers', see, for example, C.R.Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. xxiv–xxv. See also K.Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, pp. 585–601.

69 Frois' letter is quoted in C.R.Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xxxiii. Original in Jordão de Freitas, *Fernão Mendes Pinto. Sua ultima viagem á China* (1554–55), reprinted from *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, III, Lisbon, 1905.

70 C.R.Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 5–6.

71 Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, p. 368.

72 T.Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644*, pp. 109–141. Dr. Chang ends saying, 'In less than a century it (Macao) reached the apogee of enviable prosperity, lived through many troubled days and then was plunged into misery and grief'. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–141.

73 The *Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 202 (p. 451 in R.D.Catz's translation).

74 The Ideology of the Flowery Central Kingdom and the peripheral barbarian tribes. There were the barbarians to the East, the *Tōi*, among whom were the Japanese, the barbarians to the south, the *Nanban*, among whom were the Portuguese, the

barbarians to the North, the *Hokuteki*, among whom were the Mongols and the barbarians to the West, the *Seijū*, among whom were the Tibetans.

75 The first edition appeared in 1557, the second enlarged edition in 1576, and the third and last edition in 1774. The English translation with the title ‘The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India’, with notes and an introduction by Walter de Gray Birch, London, 1875–1884.

J.Albrecht, *Vier portugiesische Historiker des XVI. Jahrhunderts (Castanheda, Barros, d’Albuquerque und Goes*, p. 29.

76 T.Shimono, ‘Nansei-shotō no kiso-bunka to minbu’, in M.Izuka and K.Iida, eds, *Teppō denrai zengo*, pp. 43–44.

77 Tomé Pires, the Portuguese ambassador to China (1520) who ended up in a Chinese gaol in Canton where he died in 1524, was probably the first Westerner to mention Japan—with the name Jampon—in his *Suma Oriental*. See page 29 above. Japan had earlier been named Cipangu by Marco Polo. For a discussion of the name ‘Japan’, see M.Cooper, ed. *The Southern Barbarians, The First Europeans in Japan*, p. 24 and H.Haas, ‘Ursprung des Namens Nippon’, in *Mitteilungen des deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 331–341. For Tomé Pires and his sad fate, see H.Cordier, ‘L’Arrivée des Portugais en Chine’, in *T’oung Pao*, 2nd Ser., 12(1911), pp. 516–520 and A.Kammerer, ‘La découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVIème siècle et la cartographie des portulans’, in *T’oung Pao*, 2nd Ser., 39, supplement (1944), pp. 29–31. For the best account of the first Portuguese reaching China, see Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 99–124.

78 The description of the Gores (also known under the name of Rekeo or Rekea) and their land is found in C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan 1543–1640* under the title ‘Some Aspects of Portuguese Influence in Japan 1542–1640’, pp. 14–15. They are first mentioned in Tomé Pires’ *Suma Oriental*, pp. 128–131 (in the Hakluyt Society edition, 1944). The Gores are much discussed in literature. A review of this literature can be found in L.Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, pp. 107–117. The conclusion must be that they were Ryukyans. This seems clear already in d’Albuquerque’s *Commentarios* where it is said that their land is called *Lequea*, a name close to the Chinese for the Ryukyu Islands (*Liu-ch’iu*). That the name Gores comes from an Arab designation of the sailors from these islands—al-Ghūr—seems farfetched but why not? The Arabs were established traders in the East long before the Portuguese arrived and must have had business relations with the Ryukyans. The name may also have a Malay origin. The Arabs also knew them under the name Likyu and it was this term that became the Portuguese Lequeo and Lequea. The name Gores was earlier much discussed by scholars, for example, by M. C.Haguenauer, who concluded that it was of Arabic origin. Scholars today—for example, J.Kreiner—share the same opinion. See M.C. Haguenauer, ‘Encore la question des Gores’, *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCXXVI, pp. 67–90 and J.Kreiner, ‘Okinawa und Ainu’, unpublished paper, p. 2. Whether the Portuguese met Japanese before the arrival at Tanegashima is an open question but there might have been Japanese on the Ryukyuan ships. The British, on the other hand, had a deadly encounter with Japanese *wakō* (or *bahan*—a corruption from the

word Hachiman, the god of war in Japanese mythology), when they first approached Japan in 1604. M.Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603–1868*, pp. 1–3. See also Y. Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 37–98.

79 Ning-po is always mentioned as the destination in China for Japanese ships. Ning-po was also the port of entry for official missions to China; all the Japanese *kangō* missions entered there on the way to Peking. It is strange that there is no mention of Japanese and Portuguese meeting there since they must have been there at about the same time.

80 It should be noticed that Tanegashima, because of its centrality, was a transit port in the commercial world that stretched from Malacca via the Ryukyu islands as far as Korea. It is therefore natural that the first Portuguese arrived at the southernmost tip of the island. We can imagine merchant activities on the seas which go far back in history. It complicates things that there was much piracy and that there was often no fine distinction between trade and piracy. See S.Morita, *Kumamotoken no rekishi*, pp. 135–137.

81 See T.Tanaka, 'Japan's Relations with Overseas Countries', pp. 159–178.

82 It should be noticed, however, that the *teppō* is mentioned as early as 1549 in Japanese warfare. In this year it is reported that Shimazu Takahisa used it in combination with bow and arrow. It is natural that it was Shimazu and its energetic daimyo that implemented the new weapon first. They were close to the source and probably received it before others. From the early 1550s the *teppō* is mentioned more and more often in battle reports. Still, it is posited here that it was never more than an auxiliary weapon in this childhood of the Japanese *teppō*. For example, when it is reported that Takeda Shingen used the musket at Kawanakajima (1555), this might be so but it does not detract from the fact that cavalry was the main source of Kai power until Nagashino in 1575 (see Map 4). Strategy based on *teppō* detachments seems to have developed in the 1560s, and by 1570 this strategy was quickly developed by Oda Nobunaga which led to continued military successes with Nagashino as its spectacular first triumph. Note that this was on land. On the sea, the pirates seem to have used the musket quite early. T. Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 144–146 and T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai, heiki ga kitaru seiki no tanjō*, pp. 2–58.

83 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 96. Francisco Cabral was the Superior of the Jesuit mission in Japan for over a decade (1570–81).C. R.Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440–1770*, p. 23.

84 For the Battle of Nagashino see, for example, S.R.Turnbull, *Battles of the Samurai*, pp. 79–94 and Y.Nawa, *Nagashino-Shitaragahara kassen no shinjitsu*.

85 Yoshiteru (1535–65) was the 14th Ashikaga shogun and ruled between 1545 and 1565. He ended his life by *harakiri* aged 30.

86 Pirates seem to have used muskets and perhaps also cannon at least by the 1550s. The Inland Sea of Japan (Setonaikai) had been infested with pirates since early times and it is natural that they were equipped with the new weapons at an early stage just like the *wakō* corsairs in the China Sea. If we are to believe Pinto, pirates were active in Bungo's waters using cannon and muskets as early as 1551. T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 109 and F.Pinto, *Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 209 (p. 470 in Catz's

translation).

87 H.Ikegami, *Sengoku no gunzō*, p. 171.

88 The quotation in Turnbull in full: 'Hereafter guns will be the most important weapons. Therefore decrease the number of spears [in your armies] and have the most capable men carry guns. Furthermore, when you assemble your soldiers, test their marksmanship and order that the selection of [gunners] be in accordance with the results [of your test]'. S.R.Turnbull, *The Samurai*, p. 140. Turnbull presents no source but T. Udagawa, *Teppō denrai, heiki ga kitaru seiki no tanjō*, p. 39, does. Takeda Shingen's order went out in 1569 but, unfortunately, it was not put into effect; hence the result of the Battle of Nagashino.

89 H.Ikegami, *Sengoku no gunzō*, p. 171, where the *Hōjōgodaiki* is referred to. As regards Uesugi Kenshin, see *Essa shiryō*, Vol. 4, pp. 202–204 and T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai, heiki ga kitaru seiki no tanjō*, pp. 135–138. According to the last source, with reference to the *Uesugi-ke bunsho*, 'The Scriptures of the Uesugi House', Uesugi Kenshin received a *teppō* from the shogun at the same time in 1559.

90 See T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai, heiki ga kitaru seiki no tanjō*, pp. 18–27.

91 It is reported that musketry comprised 10 % of the Nobunaga forces at Nagashino, about 24 % of the Japanese forces invading Korea in 1592, and close to 50 % of the Date forces at Sekigahara. See S. Tokoro, 'Teppō denrai wo megutte', pp. 71–73.

92 See P.A.Tschepe, *Japans Beziehungen zu China*, p. 253.

93 See K-w. So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China during the 16th Century*, pp. 57–58.

94 For a general picture of the situation on Kyushu in sixteenth-century Japan, see G.Elison and B.L.Smith, eds, *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, and J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 98–120.

95 That Ōsumi was not totally under Satsuma control in 1556 is proven by the entry in the *Tanegashima kafu* (under Tokitaka) saying that Tanegashima samurai participated in combat at Ushine Castle in Kimotsuki as late as 1574. The *Tanegashima kafu* also reports that the Itō, Kimotsuki, Ichiji and Nejime families engaged in piracy directed against the traffic between Kagoshima and Tanegashima in the early 1570s.

96 There is a rich literature about Kyushu history in the sixteenth century. For a short presentation of the Satsuma in this era, see M.Ōta, ed., *Senryaku senjutsu heiki jiten*, p. 64.

97 For a detailed account of Wang Chih's career as a businessman and pirate leader, see P.S.Tschepe, *Japans Beziehungen zu China*, pp. 262–293. It will be noticed that he is not mentioned in connection with the arrival of the first Portuguese to Tanegashima in this work.

98 It seems that Gohō had broader interests than commerce and profit. The *Teppōki* mentions how he meets the Hokke priest Jūjōin at Jionji Temple and feels as if he has found a friend in a foreign land.

99 G.Sansom, *A History of Japan*, p. 268. Both Hu Tsung-hsien in his *Chūkai zuhen* and Cheng Shun-kung in *Nihon ikkan* also mention 1545 as the year when Gohō established himself in Japan. See T.Tanaka, *Wakō*, p. 196–200, where both Hu Tsung-hsien and Cheng Shun-kung are referred to.

100 It is easy to imagine why Wang Chih turned to Japan for a new base, by 1548 at

- the latest, as the Ming government had by then restricted trade and uprooted the Portuguese settlement at Ning-po. The Portuguese had reached Ning-po perhaps as early as 1515 and established an enclave that was later 'destroyed and completely levelled by the Chinese' according to Pinto (*Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 66); in 1549 according to J. Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 45. See L.C.Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 106–161, *Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 66 (pp. 125–127 in Catz's translation) and G.Sansom, *A History of Japan*, pp. 168–173 and pp. 265–270. For further discussions of Ning-po, see T. Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 70–73, R.D.Catz, *op.cit.*, p. 563 and p. 570 and L.C.Goodrich, *A Short History of the Chinese People*, pp. 191–192. There are sources which state that Wang Chih was in touch with Matura Takanobu, the daimyo at Hirado, both before and after he established himself on Fukue Island. See H.Ogasawara, *Teppō denrai*, p. 272–273 and M.Sasano, 'Wakō to Gotō', in *Gotō no rekishi to minwa*, p. 20. D.Brown, basing himself on Y.Takegoshi, writes that already from about 1532 had Wang Chih become entrenched on the Gotō Islands and that he had gained such strength by 1541 as a *wakō* leader that he dominated most of the outlying islands of Kyushu and that the pirates operating in the China Sea were under his control. Takegoshi's dates are highly questionable. There are no primary sources available about Wang Chih around 1543. D.Brown, *Money Economy in Medieval Japan*, p.28.
- 101 S.Miyawaki, *Muromachi sengoku-shi kikō*, p. 207.
- 102 This was indeed full-fledged war and the Chinese do not hesitate to call it war with Japan, even though a Chinese led the *wakō* forces and perhaps most of the pirates were Chinese. See P.A.Tschepe, *Japans Beziehungen zu China*, pp. 230–305.
- 103 Those *wakō* raids emanating from Japan came to a final end when Hideyoshi stopped them with an edict to all daimyo in 1588. Y.Nakata, *Kinsei taigai kankei shiron*, p. 5 and K.Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, pp. 601–602. He was, however, responsible for the greatest *wakō* raid of all when he began the invasion of Korea in 1592 with the aim of conquering China.
- 104 *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644*, pp. 634–635.
- 105 See L.C.Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 129–137.
- 106 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 44 and T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai no jitsuzō*, p. 10.
- 107 *Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 132 (pp. 272–274 in Catz's translation).
- 108 See Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 293– 507.
- 109 Cf. note 111.
- 110 Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão) is also mentioned as captain of his own ship, visiting Japan more than once.
- 111 For example, an unnamed Portuguese is mentioned to have stayed for three years in Bungo and another with the name Lorenzo Pereira. Xavier mentions in a letter written in 1549 that two Portuguese had visited Kyoto and that one of them had told him in Kagoshima that Kyoto was bigger than Lisbon. His name was Pedro Velho. This would mean that he himself was not the first European to arrive at Kyoto. Perhaps a merchant or two had come first! Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, p. 316 and L.Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, pp. 168–169.

- 112 Duarte da Gama's five or six voyages in as many years to Japan is a record that was not surpassed by any of his countrymen. C.R.Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion*, p. 30.
- 113 Luís d'Almeida, born 1525, was a physician who first traded together with Duarte da Gama and later (1555) became a medical missionary in the Society of Jesus and the first practitioner of Western medicine in Japan. D'Almeida's medical clinic was established in Funai (today's Ōita) in Bungo in 1556. J.Z.Bowers, *Western Medical Pioneers in Feudal Japan*, pp. 11–13 and Y.Fujikawa, *Geschichte der Medizin in Japan*, pp. 34–36.
- 114 L.Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, pp. 168–169.
- 115 For a comprehensive list of and report on the arrivals of Portuguese ships in Japan 1543–90, see Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 293–514.
- 116 It is evident that the Chinese were engaged in direct commerce, whether licit or illicit, with Japanese merchants in the sixteenth century. Pinto also presents a vivid picture of Chinese commercial activities in Kyushu (see Ch. 6 below). G.Sansom mentions that in the sixteenth century there were already quarters known as *Tōjin-machi*, or China-town, in Kyushu's major ports, for example, Funai in Bungo and Ikura in Higo. G.Sansom, *A History of Japan*, p. 268 and S.Morita, *Kumamoto-ken no rekishi*, p. 134.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

- 1 It is not exactly known when Pinto was born. 1508 is mentioned in the literature with a question mark. Tradition has it that he was born in a poor farmers' village (Montemor-o-velho) in the Coimbra area north of Lisbon. See R.D.Catz, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, Introduction, p. xv.
- 2 For a bibliography of all editions of the *Peregrinação* in Portuguese and other languages, see F.L.de Faria, *As muitas edições da 'Peregrinação' de Fernão Mendes Pinto*, Lisbon, 1992.
- 3 On the front page of the printed editions, however, the work is dedicated to 'the Majesty of Philip III, King of Spain'. This dedication was certainly added by the publisher in 1614; Portugal and Spain were at that time united under Philip III (1598–1621).
- 4 C.R.Boxer says that 'the literature on Pinto is voluminous'. The reader is advised to the titles presented by Boxer in *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 453–454 apart from the titles presented in this work—and other works.
- 5 C.R.Boxer, *João de Barros, Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia*, p. 122. Quotations from Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*.
- 6 F.L.de Faria, *As muitas edições da 'Peregrinação' de Fernão Mendes Pinto*, p. 16.
- 7 R.D.Catz, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, p. xlv.
- 8 His Japanese name was Yajirō. He is usually named Anjirō in Western sources.
- 9 It is generally thought that Naotaquim (also often Naotoquim) refers to Tokitaka's

- boyhood name, Naotoki, used before he became lord of the island. Pinto is however not consistent, also using the name with reference to other persons. See Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 152–153.
- 10 That the lord himself would have come himself to trade is improbable. He was young and probably curious, but he certainly left the trade to the merchants.
- 11 *Chenchicogis* is perhaps a Pinto corruption for *tenjikujin*, Indian. *Chenchico*, then, stands for *Tenjiku*, the classical Sino-Japanese word for India.
- 12 Perhaps the way Pinto heard the word *tenjikujin*, Indian. The Japanese continued to refer to Portuguese as Indians for quite some time. See, for example, L.Frois, *Historia de Japam*, in German translation, *Die Geschichte Japans*, p. 21. When the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* use the term *nanbanjin*, it is synonymous and refers to their coming from the South and India. Neither term seems to have been used in a pejorative sense. *Tenjikujin* was perhaps used in speech while *nanbanjin* in writing. L.Frois (1532–97) spent 24 years in Japan from 1561.
- 13 Pinto is of course exaggerating but it has to be remembered that Japan had the forging capacity to begin its mass production as soon as they had mastered the technique. For comparison, in 1483, just one *kangō* mission brought along not less than 37,000 swords to Ning-po—to the consternation of the Chinese. Several other missions brought 7,000 swords each, the market was glutted and the price went down!
- 14 The *Peregrinaçam*, Ch. 134, in R.D.Catz's translation, p. 278. I would like to express my gratitude to Catz for the vocabulary and many quotations from her excellent translation of Pinto's *Peregrinaçam*. The reader is recommended to turn to her translation for the whole story with all its interesting details.
- 15 Translation by R.D.Catz, *Peregrinaçam*, p. 280.
- 16 China wood or China root (*Smilax china*), still used in China for various ailments, rheumatoid arthritis among them. R.D.Catz, *Peregrinaçam*, p. 594.
- 17 As always, Pinto's *Peregrinaçam* contains a grain of truth. It had actually happened that a prince in the Ōtomo family had been injured with a gunshot wound (in 1550 or 1551). It happened, however, later than Pinto's alleged first visit and concerned the younger brother of the following shogun, Ōtomo Sōrin. This incident was related in a letter to Father Francisco Cabral in 1577: 'At the beginning of the navigation from China to Japan, Sōrin had had a Portuguese with him for more than three years, who cured his brother the King of Yamaguchi of an arquebus wound'. Translation found in J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 36. Unfortunately, the name of the Portuguese is not mentioned. Pinto of course heard the story and ascribed it to himself. This is proof that Pinto's first visit to Bungo, as described in the *Peregrinaçam*, is fictitious. The story proves indirectly that Portuguese had probably introduced the musket independently at Bungo, perhaps only a year after the first Portuguese arrived at Tanegashima. Pinto is here indeed caught *in flagrante delicto*. It is a clear case when he is using an event he has heard about and makes it his own. See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 107–109.
- 18 For Ning-po, see Ch. 1, n. 29.
- 19 M.C.Haguenauer, 'Tables Chronologiques...', p. 107.
- 20 Women are now and then mentioned as being on board the merchant ships, and

- Pinto never explains why. It seems, however, that women, probably Chinese in this case, were also merchandise and sold as slaves. Perhaps they also served as slaves or servants on board the ships. See L. Frois, *Historia de Japam*, in German translation, *Die Geschichte Japans*, p. 121.
- 21 Ch. 138–143 in the *Peregrinação* (pp. 288–301 in Catz's translation) cover Pinto's adventures on the Ryukyu Islands.
- 22 This Jorge Alvares should not be confused with the Jorge Alvares who was the first Portuguese to reach China and died there in 1521. See above, Ch. 5, n. 46. This Jorge Alvares wrote the report about Japan for Xavier (see above), introduced Anjiro to Xavier, took Xavier to Sancian in 1552 in his ship *Santa Cruz*, helped bury him in 1552, and assisted in removing his remains from Sancian to Malacca in 1553.
- 23 The seaport city of Funai in the northeast corner of the island of Kyushu, today's Ōita, the capital of Ōita Prefecture.
- 24 This new king was Ōtomo Sōrin.
- 25 Yamagawa, seaport at the entrance to the Bay of Kagoshima.
- 26 'Although Japan was a silk-producing country, the Japanese much preferred Chinese silk, whether raw or woven, to their own as it was of superior quality'. C.R.Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825*, p. 63. The Portuguese later profited from their monopoly on the China traffic, silk to Japan and silver from Japan. The Chinese merchants had enjoyed this lucrative trade with Japan before their arrival and Pinto proves that they still played an important role in the silk market about this time. It was after the Ming emperors prohibited all commerce with Japan that Portuguese merchants could enter the silk-versus-silver trade, especially after the Macao-Hirado/Nagasaki route was established after 1557. C.R.Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770*, pp. 6–7 and M.Cooper, *Barbarians, The First Europeans in Japan*, p. 35.
- 27 The captain, Jorge Alvares, also mentions a devastating storm but his figures are more modest: according to him 72 Chinese junks and one Portuguese ship were lost. J.da Camara Manoel, *Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente*, p. 115 and Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, p. 515.
- 28 This is probably the only time that Pinto mentions that he held slaves. It is known that Japanese of low class were sold as slaves—or sold themselves as slaves—who followed, served and defended their (Portuguese) masters. See C.R.Boxer, 'Some Aspects of Portuguese Influence in Japan, 1542–1640', in *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543–1640*, V, pp. 19–21. It should be added that Japanese served the Portuguese (and the Dutch and British) in other capacities, as servants, retainers and guards, and even participated in warfare. 'From time to time we find bodies of Japanese serving as mercenary soldiers in Portuguese or Dutch service'. See C.R.Boxer, 'Notes on Early European Military Influence in Japan', in *The Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Second Series, Vol. VIII (1931), p. 69. As a result, a great number of Japanese spread around the Far East and as far west as Goa. They seem to have been highly valued for their bravery. If we add the colonies of independent Japanese traders and Japanese attached to the Portuguese strongholds, we find that there was a considerable Japanese presence outside Japan at the time that the seclusion policy was introduced in 1639, from

- Acapulco eastwards to India westwards. See also C.R.Boxer, 'The Affair of the 'Madre de Deus', A Chapter of the History of the Portuguese in Japan', in *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543–1640*, I, pp. 43–46. Slaves seem also to have been a common article in Portuguese trade in the sixteenth century at least, mentioned side by side with other articles such as silk, gold, beeswax and sandalwood. This shows that the Portuguese were not much different from the *wakō* pirates who captured Chinese during their raids and sold them as slaves. As late as 1587 Hideyoshi asked Father Coelho why the Portuguese 'buy many Japanese and export them from their native land as slaves' and the Father admitted that the Portuguese slave trade took place, although deprecated by the missionaries, and asked Hideyoshi to forbid this practice 'in all ports of the empire'. Pinto had first-hand knowledge about enslavement. He states in the *Peregrinação* (Ch. 226) that he 'was sixteen times captured and thirteen times made a slave!' The slave trade was thus part of Portuguese commercial activities around the globe and most Portuguese in the East had his private slave(s). See C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics*, p. 57; C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 146–147 and G.Sansom, *A History of Japan*, p. 270. The best account of slavery in the East, both China and Japan, is found in C.R.Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770*, in the chapter 'Muitsai in Macao', pp. 222–241. That slaves were part of Portuguese lives in the East is shown by a census of the Macao population in 1834 (sic) mentioning 1,717 'whites' and 530 'slaves'. A.Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*, p. 205. See Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 728–754 for the efforts by Hideyoshi to have the Portuguese slave trade terminated. However, Hideyoshi was not far from the slave trade himself. Carletti narrates how Hideyoshi brought 'an infinite number of men and women, boys and girls, of every age' from Korea who were sold as slaves and that he bought five of them, one of whom he brought with him to Italy. F.Carletti, *My Voyage around the World*, p. 115. It was in Tokugawa times with its isolationist policy that this ugly trade came to a final end.
- 29 Anjiro is well presented in letters written in 1548 by Xavier and Anjiro himself. In Anjiro's letter Alvares Vaz is mentioned as the middleman who 'generously offered his friendship' and helped Anjiro to leave Japan. This Alvares Vaz is probably not identical with Diogo Vaz who is mentioned by Ōtomo Sōrin as having stayed in Bungo for some five years and cured his younger brother. Alvares Vaz helped Anjiro onto a ship whose captain was Jorge Alvares and departed from Kagoshima in 1546. The letters are found in J.da Camara Manoel, *Missões dos Jesuítas no Oriente*, pp. 67–84 and quoted in J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 38–39. Anjiro's letter is also quoted in Y. Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 308–309 and in Y.Ishihara, *Nihon wo kaeta!*, pp. 133–138. Cf. L.Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, p. 123–124.
- 30 For more about Anjiro or Paulo de Santa Fé, see L.Frois' *Historia de Japam*, pp. 1–17. Anjiro is written in a number of ways. Pinto writes 'Angiroom' and Xavier writes 'Angero'. For other spellings, see G. Schurhammer, *Der hl Franz Xaver in Japan (1549–1551)*, p. 7. 'He was about thirty-five years old and spoke broken Portuguese' when he met Xavier. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

- 31 For Francis Xavier's own description of how he met Anjiro, reference is made to letter quoted in J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 38–39.
- 32 See for example N.S.Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity, The Catholic Mission in Pre-modern Japan*, New York, 1991, p. 13. It was the merchant Jorge Alvares who gave refuge to Anjiro on board his ship at Kagoshima in 1546 and took him to India, where he met Xavier. As already said, at Xavier's request, Alvares produced the first European eye-witness report on Japan—a remarkably informative account, although the writer freely admits that he had not travelled far inland in Japan. M.Cooper, *They Came to Japan, An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, p. 407.
- 33 See, for example, C.R.Boxer, 'The Portuguese in the East 1500–1800', in H.V.Livermore, ed., *Portugal and Brazil*, p. 233.
- 34 Translation by R.D.Catz, *Peregrinação*, p. 279.
- 35 Regarding Father Maffei's report of the conversation, see R.D.Catz, *Cartas de Fernão Mendes Pinto e outros documentos*, pp. 122–127 and C. R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 22–23.
- 36 In a note to the Maffei text it is said that when the king of Bungo heard about these Portuguese, he wanted one of them to be sent to him and teach the art of the musket. Pinto was sent and promised the king that he would allow his son to shoot the musket twice. Then the prince came when Pinto was asleep and the accident occurred.
- 37 Also in this interview Pinto mentions himself as one of the first Portuguese to arrive in Japan. Otherwise the first two visits are woven into one piece and only the rescue of Anjiro remains from the second visit. C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan 1543–1640*, pp. 22–23. For Father Maffei's report of the conversation, see R.Catz, *Cartas de Fernão Mendes Pinto e outros documentos*, pp. 122–127 and C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 22–23.
- 38 Duarte da Gama was a Portuguese captain who made a number of trading voyages to Japan between 1550 and 1555. As a trader-adventurer he visited Hirado in 1550, Bungo in 1551, Kagoshima 1552 and Hirado again in 1555. C.R.Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825*, p. 63.
- 39 The picture of Xavier that Pinto presents is not only exaggerated but also untruthful. He came by ship from Yamaguchi 'en grand appareil' and not in the poor condition as given by Pinto. See below, Ch. 12.
- 40 For a more accurate description of Xavier's stay at Bungo, L.Frois' *Historia de Japam* is recommended; found in G.Schurhammer's and E. A.Voretzsch' German translation, *Die Geschichte Japans (1549–1578)*, pp. 17–19.
- 41 That disputations, or rather discussions, took place is proven in letters written by the priests. The perhaps best example we find in a letter by João Fernandez, written in Yamaguchi on 20 October 1551. In this letter we can register curiosity evinced by the bonzes on the one side and by the Jesuits on the other. One can therefore rather speak of a discussion and a give-and-take of views. A latter-day impression is that the bonzes showed a more open mind than the Jesuits as to what was new and strange. We have to remember that curiosity is the sign of a vigorous intellect' (Samuel Johnson). In comparison, Pinto's 'disputation' is opinionated and

- biased. By this time João Fernandez and Cosme de Toerres had probably such command of the Japanese language that they could engage in discussions with the Buddhist priests. Since Xavier stayed for more than two months in Bungo, there must have been time for both preaching and discussions. See G.Schurhammer, *Die Disputationen des P.Cosme de Torres mit den Buddhisten in Yamaguchi im Jahre 1551*, pp. 66–83 and 99–110. Even before departing for Japan, Xavier recognized that the Japanese ‘are of all nations newly discovered the most curious’. This he wrote in a letter of 20 January 1548, quoted in J. Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 39.
- 42 See, for example, G.Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, Vol 4, pp. 301–307.
- 43 This date is impossible, according to Schurhammer. See *ibid.*, p. 307. Pinto probably just picked a date, but it must be said to his credit that it is not far from the true date. He was equipped with an amazing memory.
- 44 This island is found under various names. Perhaps the most correct name is Shang-ch’uan; another is Shang-ch’uan-tao. It lies outside Canton where the Portuguese engaged in clandestine trade with the Chinese prior to the establishment of Macao in 1557. For the many spellings of the name, see G.Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, pp. 662–664. The Portuguese used this island as an entrepôt in their trade activities because they were forbidden to enter China. See H.Cordier, *L’Arrivée des Portugais en Chine*, pp. 522–523.
- 45 Also L.Frois also gives the date as 2 December 1552. See L.Frois, *Historia de Japam*, p. 20. However, in a footnote to their translation of Frois’ work, G.Schurhammer and E.A.Voretzsch say that Xavier ‘more precisely died on 3 December 1552, at two o’clock in the morning’. Cf. Ch. 12 below.
- 46 João Belchior (Melchior) Nunes [Barreto] (1520–71) arrived in Goa in 1551 and became the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in India. After returning from Japan he stayed in India and died there in 1571.
- 47 This is in Ch. 222 of the *Peregrinação*. One of the prisoners released was a nobleman and is mentioned by name (Mateus de Brito) by Father Belchior in his letter of 23 November 1555, by Pinto in his letter of 20 November 1555 and by L.Frois in his letter of 7 January 1558. See R. Catz, *Cartas de Fernão Mendes Pinto e outros documentos*, pp. 61, 71 and 83. The others are not named and differ in number from letter to letter. It is apparent that a number of Portuguese were taken prisoners by the Chinese in the preceding years.
- 48 Usuki is located about 30 km southeast of today’s Ōita.
- 49 At other times one gets the impression that Pinto both speaks and reads Chinese. See, for example, the *Peregrinação*, Ch. 220 (p. 507 in Catz’s translation). No interpreter is mentioned.
- 50 M.Cooper, *They Came to Japan*, p. 201.
- 51 Governor of India (1555–58).
- 52 Toward the end of chapter 226, the last chapter of the *Peregrinação* (p. 522 in R.D.Catz’s translation).
- 53 For a thorough discussion of the *Peregrinação*, see G.Schurhammer, ‘Fernão Mendez Pinto und seine “Peregrinação”’, in *Asia Major*, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1926.

- 54 Father Belchior's letter is found in L.Frois, *Historia de Japam*, in German translation, *Die Geschichte Japans*, pp. 52–55. The letter was written in 1558, that is two years after he visited Bungo according to Pinto. In the name of honesty it should be mentioned that Pinto is mentioned in an earlier letter by Father Belchior, written on 23 November 1555, when they were on the way in the Canton area. He is mentioned as his 'beloved companion brother Fernão Mendes' (*caríssimo companheiro irmão Fernão Mendes*). For the letters in Portuguese, see R. D.Catz, *Cartas de Fernão Mendes Pinto e outros documentos*, pp. 59–65 and 100–108. See the letters written on the way to Japan about the same time, 20 and 23 November 1555, which supplement each other, in R.D. Catz, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–72. See also below.
- 55 For Father Belchior's letters (in Portuguese), see R.D.Catz, *Cartas de Fernão Mendes Pinto*, as in preceding note.
- 56 G.Schurhammer, *Fernão Mendez Pinto und seine 'Peregrinação'*, pp. 259–261.
- 57 See, for example, S.Watanabe, *Ōita-ken no rekishi*, pp. 112–114.
- 58 L.Frois mentions such disputations in *Historia de Japam*, in German translation, *Die Geschichte Japans*, p. 32. See also G.Schurhammer, *Die Disputationen des P.Cosme de Torres S.J.mit den Buddhisten in Yamaguchi im Jahre 1551, nach den Briefen des P.Torres und dem Protokoll seines Dolmetschers Br. Juan Fernandez S.J.*, pp. 27–36.
- 59 João Rodrigues Tçuzzu, see above, Ch. 1, nn. 63 and 103.
- 60 C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650*, p. 19.
- 61 Quotation from J.G.Mendoza, *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China*, p. xxxvi.
- 62 Yoshinaga, also Hachirō, was Ōtomo Sōrin's younger brother, who had suffered the gunshot wound. He was called to be the daimyo at Yamaguchi (in 1551) and adopted with the name Ōuchi Yoshinaga.
- 63 All dates relating to Pinto are found in G.Schurhammer, *Fernão Mendez Pinto und seine 'Peregrinação'*, pp. 6–16.
- 64 For a short presentation of Ōtomo Sōrin, see G.Elison, *Deus Destroyed, The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, pp. 22–25. For a longer presentation, see M.Toyama, *Ōtomo Sōrin*, Tokyo, 1975.
- 65 See, for example, L.Frois, *Historia de Japam*, in German translation, *Die Geschichte Japans*, pp. 187 and 199.
- 66 This was in the early years of free trade when Japan was a relatively open country. The trade did not assume a regular settled condition until after the Portuguese had secured a permanent base at Macao in 1557; 'whilst, subsequent to the opening of Nagasaki to foreign traders in 1570, the trade of the Portuguese with Japan was limited to that between these two ports, to all intents and purposes'. See C.R.Boxer, 'Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan Three Hundred Years Ago (1630–1639)', in *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society of London*, Vol. XXXI, The Forty-Third Session, 1933–1934, pp. 27–78 and M.Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 51.
- 67 Quotation from C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan 1543–1640*, p. 27.

68 G.Le Gentil, *Fernão Mendes Pinto, un précurseur de l'exotisme au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 320–321.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

- 1 For the original in Chinese, see Appendix. Both Wei Cheng and Fang Hsüan-ling were scholars, generals and statesmen in T'ang China. They both served the first T'ang emperor, T'ai Tsung (r. 627–649).
- 2 It is impossible to trace any countries which correspond to these *kanji* names. They must be considered fantasy just like the introductory passage in its entirety.
- 3 This is an obvious writing mistake. The year should be Tenbun 12 which corresponds to 1543. Compare with the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu*.
- 4 This is a mistake. Lord Tokitaka's grandfather, the 12th lord of Tanegashima, was Tanegashima Musashi no kami Tadatoki (1468–1536).
- 5 The title Byōbu no jō is not entirely correct. The title in the *Tanegashima kafu* is Sahyōe no jō.
- 6 Since one *shaku* measures about 30 cm, it means that the weapon was about 90 cm long. Here the term is used literally; above, in the term *san-jaku*, it is used symbolically for what is small.
- 7 Shimazu Yoshihisa (1533–1611), eldest son of Shimazu Takahisa (1514–71) and the latter's successor as daimyo of Satsuma (1566). Shimazu Takahisa is probably referred to here, since he was the daimyo of Satsuma at the time.
- 8 Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1510–50), the 12th Ashikaga shogun. He was shogun from 1521 to 1545.
- 9 Abbot Shimobe no Shinbō is not mentioned in the *Teppōki* and the *Tanegashima kafu* as being a middleman. The reading of the name is tentative.
- 10 Hōjō Ujiyasu (1515–70). 'It was Ujiyasu who raised the glory and power of the Odawara Hōjō to their greatest height'.
- 11 Hosokawa Harumoto (1519–63) served in the capacity of *kanryō* or prime minister for the shogun. He was the last *kanryō* of the Hosokawa family.
- 12 These four smiths are later referred to with the title, *toshiyori*, 'elder', with *fuchi* rations. Above them was a *daikan*, 'magistrate'.
- 13 It is then possible that the helical technique was developed twice in Japan in connection with the *teppō*. The first screw was made on Tanegashima by Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada with the help of the Portuguese smith; the second by Jirō no Suke at Kunitomo without the help of the Portuguese. The translation of this passage is tentative.
- 14 That is, bullets of about 22.5 grammes.
- 15 Hashimoto Ippa is known for having been Oda Nobunaga's *teppō* teacher. He is mentioned in the Nobunaga Chronicle (*Shinchōki* or *Nobunagaki*, 1604), quoted in T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai no jitsuzō*, p. 61.
- 16 That is, about 750 grammes. T.Hora expresses suspicion about the size of 200

- momme*. In his view the Japanese never managed to forge cannon bigger than the size of 100 *momme*, and this refers as much to the cannon forged in the Kinki area as on Kyushu. The truly great cannon had to wait until in modern times to be forged. T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 185–188. The Tanegashima *teppō* were made for bullets of 10 *momme*, that is, about 37.5 grammes. H.Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai*, p. 39. The special order from Hideyoshi for 200 *teppō* in 1590 concerned *teppō* for 20 *momme* bullets.
- 17 This was then probably the first time in Japanese history that cannon were produced and shot. See S.Arima, *Kahō no kigen to sono denryū*, p. 668.
- 18 Ōgimachi (1517–93) was the 106th generation in official imperial genealogy. He ruled from 1532 to 1586. Since he did not abdicate until 1586, he should not be mentioned as Ōgimachi'in, the Retired Emperor Ōgimachi, as in our text. The suffix 'in' means 'retired'.
- 19 Naruse Hayato no shō Masanari was the *daikan* deputy of the authorities in Kunitomo and as such the overseer of the whole population, thus also of the four smiths.
- 20 More correctly it should be 'the 19th year of the same era' which corresponds to 1614 when the first 'winter campaign' (*fuyu no jin*) took place.
- 21 That is, the province by Osaka.
- 22 *Ishibiya* was the later term for the cannon with shot of 3.75 kg (*ikkanmedama*) or more; smaller cannon for shot of about at least 0.375 kg or more (*hyakumedama*) were called *ōzutsu*, 'big firearms'. It is a question when the *ishibiya* cannon was first introduced and used in Japan. The cannon mentioned above as produced in 1571 was clearly of the *ōzutsu* size as it is stated that the bullets were 0.750 kg (*nihyakumedama*). See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 183–189.
- 23 The settlement permitted Ieyasu to fill in the outer moats around the castle, but Ieyasu also filled in some of the inner moats; this was one the reasons for the outbreak of new hostilities and the following campaign in 1615.
- 24 Place to the south of Dōtonbori in today's Osaka.
- 25 Another source says 880 *koku* and adds their official posts (*toshiyori*) in this connection. See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 371.
- 26 Another source says Surihari Hill (Surihari-saka), a mountain in Shiga Prefecture, today mostly named Surihari-yama or Surihari-tōge. T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 371.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

- 1 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 118–121.
- 2 Ibid., pp. 123–124.
- 3 The *Mōko-shūrai-ekotoba* dates from 1293.
- 4 The first name given in the *Tanegashima kafu* is Tokitsura. See page 45 above.
- 5 There were presents and presents-in-return: the shogun received the *teppō* from Sōrin

and Sōrin received the *shugo* title for several provinces on Kyushu.

6 Hino in Ōmi, today's Shiga Province, was well-known for its iron-works and became soon an important teppō-producing location (see Map XX). T.Yamazaki, 'Isan-hozon to chiiki-kaihatsu', in M.Izuka and K.Iida, *Teppō denrai zengo*, pp. 120–121.

7 T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai no jitsuzō*, p. 44, where a Tokugawa work of 1684, *Sakai kagami*, is quoted. Professor Udagawa does not find *Sakai kagami* credible.

8 It is mentioned that the Gohōjō had 55 *teppō* in 1577, which is a small number in comparison with what Oda Nobunaga displayed two years earlier at Nagashino.

9 A longer tradition has it that Oda Nobunaga heard about Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō (Kazunaga) who had been advanced to the fifth lower imperial rank by Shogun Yoshiharu for his introduction of the musket at Negoro. Always curious, Oda Nobunaga approached Tsuda (in 1549) who, tired of discord among the Negoro monks, willingly handed over a musket to Oda Nobunaga, who then learned to use it from Hashimoto Ippa. The same tradition has it that already in 1553 he could show off the 500 muskets to his father-in-law, Saitō Dōsan, who was both impressed and surprised. R.Yamamoto, *Sengoku ura-shidan*, p. 44.

10 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 122–123.

11 The fact is that Hideyoshi did not receive Nagahama as his fief until in 1573, so there must be a mistake here. On the other hand, Oda Nobunaga might have had the power after the battle at Anegawa in 1570 to submit orders to the Kunitomo smiths and Hideyoshi was his follower.

12 When Oda Nobunaga became daimyo at 15, he took more interest in warlike exercises than in government. It was these exercises with *teppō* that stood him in good stead in later battles at Okehazama (1560), Nagashino (1575) and other places.

13 Nagahama Castle was located by Lake Biwa, a short distance away from Kunitomo Village.

14 S.Turnbull, *Battles of the Samurai*, pp. 58–65. It presents a picture of the age that Asai Nagamasa (1545–73) was married to Oda Nobunaga's sister and that one of his daughters was married to Hideyoshi and another to Shogun Hidetada, later to become the mother of Shogun Iemitsu.

15 As for the Battles of Kawanakajima and Okehazama (Map 4), see *Senryaku, senjutsu, heiki jiten*, pp. 148–151 and 184–185. See also N. McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, pp. 61 and 315.

16 It can be discussed to what extent Oda Nobunaga had these musket-producing places under his control by 1574. Kunitomo goes without saying. The other foundries were hardly under his full control, but perhaps sufficiently so that he could order and buy weapons from them.

17 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 203–207.

18 S.Turnbull, *Battles of the Samurai*, p. 77 and N. Perrin, *Giving up the Gun, Japan's Reversion to the Sword*.

19 D.M.Brown, *Money Economy in Medieval Japan*, pp. 244–245 and T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 192.

20 The Battle of Nagashino is much analysed in Japanese historical literature. For succinct accounts, see S.Turnbull, *Battles of the Samurai*, pp. 79–94 and *Samurai Warfare*, p. 77. There is discussion as to how many musketeers there were at

- Nagashino: 3,000 as tradition has it or less. See J.Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus*, p. 112.
- 21 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 125, where a letter is sent by Ishida Mitsunari on the 28th day of the 7th month of Keichō 5 (1600), that is, not long before the Battle of Sekigahara. In this letter the Kunitomo smiths are reminded of earlier orders from Lord Taikō (1575), that is, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, about their *teppō* work. Unfortunately Hideyoshi's earlier communication is not extant.
- 22 As for these rules see T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai no jitsuzō*, p. 120. These rules resemble the rules which were earlier issued by Oda Nobunaga.
- 23 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 373–375.
- 24 The Kunitomo *kikōki* is quoted in T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 379–380. Access to this source was not possible during the writing of this work.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

- 1 See the translation of the *Teppōki* (Ch. 2 above).
- 2 K.Inoue, *Geschichte Japans*, p. 170.
- 3 The relationship between Shibatsuji and Tachibanaya and the roles they played in the making of the first Sakai *teppō* are not clear. Either of them could have been the first, Shibatsuji bringing the knowledge from Negoro or Tachibanaya bringing the knowledge from Tanegashima. Thereupon they perhaps cooperated and forged the first Sakai *teppō* together.
- 4 Early Sakai *teppō* can be seen at the Sakai City Museum (Sakai-shi hakubutsukan). They are longer than the early *teppō* seen at the Teppō—kan at Nishinoomote. They are also often richly ornamented—perhaps for commercial reasons. See *Sakai teppō—sono genryū to haikai wo meguru*, pp. 13–57.
- 5 C.Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism*, p. 302.
- 6 See V.Dixon Morris, 'Sakai: From Shōen to Port City', in John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi, eds, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, pp. 145–158.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 154.
- 8 Quotation found in J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. 1, p. 635.
- 9 Well-known among the defendants were the *teppō* contingents from Negoro and Saiga in Kii, the *Negoro-shū* and the *Saiga-tō*, perhaps the earliest organized *teppō* companies in Japan. Nobunaga must have learned from confronting them. R.Yamamoto, *Sengoku ura-shidan*, pp. 119–133. Saiga was a domain close to Negoro known for its forging capacity and proud of its domain forces. It cooperated closely with Negoro in the production of the new weapon. *Ibid.*, pp. 41–49.
- 10 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 126.
- 11 S.Arima, *Kaho no kigen to sono denryū*, p. 657.
- 12 See P.Pratt, *History of Japan*, p. 244.
- 13 N.Perrin, *Giving Up the Gun*, pp. 64–65. The translations are adapted. Perrin bases himself upon S.Arima, *Kaho no kigen to sono denryū*, pp. 659–661 and p. 677.
- 14 For the story of 'The Sakai Gun', see Sakai-shi hakubutsukan, ed., *Sakai teppō—*

sono genryū to haikai wo saguru, especially pp. 98–106 and the illustrations.

15 The early Japanese guns were astonishingly well made. They were stored in government storehouses but were brought out and converted to percussion rifles after the arrival of Commodore Perry (1853–54)– and they performed admirably. N.Perrin, *Giving Up the Gun*, p. 67.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1 As for Negoro, see, for example, C.Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism*, p. 302.

2 Negoro, Shingon Temple in Kii (Kishū), today's Wakayama Prefecture. *Bō* in Suginobō may indicate that he was a young monk.

3 This legend about the Lord of Jo (Ch. Shu) and Lord Kisatsu (Ch. Chi-tsa) is found in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi*, *Shih chia* 2.

4 *Jūshū*, lit., 'ten wraps'.

5 As already stated above, Tanegashima was an important transit port and haven for merchant ships both from Kii and Sakai on their commercial journeys to China, Okinawa and perhaps other places. The sailing conditions compelled the ships to wait at Tanegashima for long periods when weather did not allow them to go farther or when storm-battered—as in the case of the first *nanbansen* junk. Perhaps Tanegashima was also one of the locations where the ships assembled before launching out on dangerous trade journeys and where they reassembled on their way home. One such expedition containing three merchant ships is mentioned at the end of the *Teppōki* and can be an indication of something that happened regularly. See the *Teppōki* above and T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 104–105.

6 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 11.

7 The Portuguese Jesuit Father, Gaspar Vilela (1525–72), mentioned in his correspondence that Negoro could muster no less than 20,000 warriors. Also 30,000 warriors are mentioned in *sengoku* literature.

8 See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 109–114.

9 Sakai had its own army of militant monks who spent all their time in practising rigorous military exercises. This explains why Oda Nobunaga had such difficulty in subjugating this city. According to Vilela, who visited Sakai, these military monks readily hired themselves out as mercenaries to warring daimyo. C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, p. 68 where Vilela is quoted.

10 C.Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism*, p. 302.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1 See quotation in T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 108.

- 2 J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 59.
- 3 H.Motojima, *Tanegashima teppō denrai*, p. 38.
- 4 The Portuguese presented Ōtomo Sōrin with two cannon as early as 1551 and his retainers attempted to copy them. C.R.Boxer, 'Notes on Early European Military Influence in Japan', in *The Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. VIII, 1931, p. 70 and S.Turnbull, *Samurai Warfare*, pp. 78–79. It is also reported that Sōrin sent cannon as presents to the shogun and Oda Nobunaga in the 1560s. T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai no jitsuzō*, pp. 80–81.
- 5 The letter is quoted in G.B.Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, p. 124. No source is given but it is possible that such a letter was written, perhaps directed to the Portuguese Jesuits at Macao.
- 6 C.R.Boxer, 'Notes on Early European Military Influence in Japan', pp. 67–73.
- 7 Ibid., p.71.
- 8 D.M.Brown mentions that cannon were used in battles by Noguchi in 1578 and in Etchū and Nōto in 1582 in land operations. D.M. Brown, *The Impact of Firearms on Japanese Warfare, 1543–98*, p. 242.
- 9 Cannon is reported used by the Chinese for the first time in 1554 in their fight against the *wakō* pirates. At the same time it is mentioned that the pirate leader Wang Chih had used cannon on his pirate ships for quite some time. P.A.Tschepe, *Japans Beziehungen zu China*, p. 242.
- 10 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, pp. 108–109.
- 11 For example, the Portuguese who cured Ōtomo Sōrin's younger brother, Yoshinaga, is mentioned in a letter from Sōrin to Father Francisco Cabral, with no name given. Another Portuguese, Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão), who stayed for some years is mentioned. Further, the merchant, Jorge de Faria, came with five or six other Portuguese about 1545. Let us imagine that there were two persons with the name Vaz, one Alvares Vaz and another Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão). Alvares Vaz helped Anjiro to leave Japan in 1546 and thereupon perhaps sailed to Bungo. Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão) stayed longer and was perhaps in Bungo when Pinto arrived. See above. Pinto was thus certainly not the first Portuguese to arrive in Bungo. See T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 107 and Y.Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 312–316.
- 12 The earliest mention of Portuguese ships reaching Hirado is 1550. Nagasaki was opened later for trade, in 1570, and from that time the Portuguese trade was on the whole limited to that between Macao and Nagasaki. Nagasaki was under partly Jesuit (i.e. Portuguese) administration between 1580 and 1588, that is, until Hideyoshi took over. Many Portuguese were settled on Kyushu with wives and children. The first Dutch came to Hirado in 1609 and the first British in 1613. The British left in 1623 and the Dutch were transferred to Nagasaki (Deshima) in 1641. J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 38 and C.R.Boxer, 'Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan Three Hundred Years Ago, 1630–1639', in *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society of London*, Vol. XXXI, 1933–34, p. 28–33.
- 13 In a letter quoted in T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 96. Matsura Takanobu, the Hirado lord, writes proudly that Tanegashima and Hirado were the first places with muskets

- in Japan and Cheng Shun-kung (Jpn. Tei Shun-kō) lists Hirado together with Satsuma (Bōnotsu), Bungo and Izumi (Sakai) as the *teppō*-producing locations in *Nihon ikkan*, quoted in T.Hora, *op. cit.*, 105–107. The *Nihon ikkan* is an encyclopedic work about Japan containing some 3,400 entries written by Cheng Shunkung who originated from Kuang-tung in southern China and lived for two years in Japan. The sixth chapter of the first volume deals with trade, smuggling and pirates. K.Akiyama, *Nisshi kōtsū-shi kenkyū*, p. 604–605; T.Tanaka, *Wakō*, pp 197–198; and K-w. So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China*, pp. 70–72.
- 14 Captain Richard Cocks was the English Chief Merchant in Japan from 1613 to 1623. His reports are found in M.Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603–1868*.
- 15 Quotation in C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, p. 307. ‘Langasague’ is a corruption of Nagasaki.
- 16 See P.Pratt, *History of Japan*, p. 17 *et passim* and C.R.Boxer, *Notes on Early European Military Influence in Japan (1543–1853)*, p. 73.
- 17 M.Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa*, p. 27.
- 18 R.Cocks (*Diary*, Vol. 1, p. 34) quoted in C.M.Cipolla, *Guns, Sails, & Empires*, p. 127. See also C.R.Boxer, ‘Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th–18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill’, in C. R.Boxer, *Portuguese Conquest and Commerce in Southern Asia 1500–1750*, VII, pp. 169–170. The full statement by Richard Cocks as rendered by S. Turnbull (August, 1615): ‘I marvelled at their workmanship. For they carried the metal in ladles above twenty yards from the place where the mould stood, and so put it in, ladleful after ladle, and yet made as formal ordnance as we do in Christendom, both of brass and iron. Captain Specx told me that neither workmanship nor stuff did not stand him in half the price it cost them in Christendom’. S.Turnbull, *Samurai Warfare*, p. 81.
- 19 Lecture by Umekita Kichio, held at a conference at Lisbon in commemoration of the 450th anniversary of the arrival of the first Portuguese at Tanegashima. It was Professor Umekita’s thesis that the Jesuit priests were from the beginning deeply committed to trade. See also C. R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 107–121.
- 20 Shimazu Takahisa is said to have used it in an attack on the fortress of Kajiki in Ōsumi province in 1549. S.Turnbull, *Samurai Warfare*, p. 73. M.Inomoto mentions a battle at Kurokawasaka in the same year when Shimazu Takahisa is said to have used the *teppō* in a war with Kimotsuki and Gamō. One might doubt this early date for the usage of the *teppō* in Japanese warfare. When it is reported, on the other hand, that Shimazu Yoshihisa used the *teppō* in 1576 in Hyūga against Itō Yoshisuke, it sounds convincing. M.Inomoto, *Tanegashima*, p.109, Y. Ishihara, *Nihon wo kaeta!*, p. 76 and T.Udagawa, *Teppō denrai no jitsuzō*, p. 27.
- 21 T.Hora, *Tanegashima-jū*, p. 105.
- 22 The interest in mortars was great after the Shimabara Rebellion (1637–38) when this weapon could serve better than cannon. See C.R. Boxer, ‘Notes on Early European Military Influence in Japan’, in *The Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, pp. 77–88.
- 23 M.Izuka and K.Iida, *Teppō denrai zengo*, pp. 151–152.

- 24 Carl Peter Thunberg, a Swede, and Philipp Franz von Siebold, a German, served both as doctors with the Dutch on Deshima. Thunberg wrote in 1776: 'Cannons are not the usual arms of this country; although at Nagasaki, in the possession of the imperial guard, there are some to be seen, which were formerly taken from the Portuguese; but they are never used for saluting the ships; and indeed they are very seldom discharged at all. The Japanese have little or no notion of the proper mode of using them, and whenever they are to fire them off, which is generally done once every seven years, at Nagasaki, in order to cleanse and prove them, the adjutant of artillery provides himself with a long pole, to which he fixes the match, and not withstanding this precaution, sometimes sets fire to the cannon with averted eyes'. In C.P. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, 1770–1779*, Vol. 4, p. 14.
- 25 C.R.Boxer thinks that the stagnation began already in the seventeenth century; and that the artillery made no further progress after 1640. See his 'Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th–18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill', in C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese Conquest and Commerce in Southern Asia, 1500–1750*, Vol. VII, p. 170.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

- 1 Francisco (Francis) Xavier (1505–52) was born in Spanish Basque Navarre and educated in Paris, where he first met Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus. He was himself one of the first members of the Society. Sailing from Europe in 1541, he laboured in India, Malacca and the Moluccas, before reaching Japan in August 1549. M. Cooper, *They Came to Japan, An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, p. 412 and J.Natori, *Historical Stories of Christianity in Japan*, pp. 24–41. The Xavier literature is extensive. The reader is recommended to read the works by G.Schurhammer, J.Brodrick and H.Haas.
- 2 C.R.Boxer is certainly close to the truth when he says that 'God and Mammon formed the hallmark of the empire bounded by the Portuguese in the East, and, for that matter, in Africa and in Brazil as well'. C. R.Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415–1825: A Succinct Survey*, Johannesburg (Witwatersrand University Press), 1961, p. 14.
- 3 It was toward the end of Xavier's eleven-year apostolate in the East that he became acquainted with Japan. His last two years in the East can be called his Japanese years. D.F.Lach, *Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Europe*, p. 609. It is in a letter of 20 January 1548, addressed to Rome (*aos irmãos da Companhia em Roma*), that he mentions that he has heard from reliable Portuguese merchants that *las islas de Japon* have been discovered and that the people there are more amiable, cultured and curious than the people in India. He then meets Angero (Anjiro) who proves that this is true. The letter is found in J. da Camara Manoel, *Missões dos Jesuítas no Oriente nos Seculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 67–84, especially pp. 76–77.
- 4 J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier (1506–1522)*, p. 291.

- 5 Three Japanese were baptized on 20 May 1548 in the cathedral of Goa in the presence of Xavier. Anjiro received the name Paulo de Santa Fé (Paul of Holy Faith) and his servant the name João (Johannes, John). The third Japanese received the name Antonio. Since Anjiro was a samurai, it is natural that he was accompanied by a servant. It is not clear whether Antonio was also his servant. In his own letter, dated 29 November 1548, Anjiro says that he was baptized together with one follower, no name given. Y.Ishihara, *Nihon wo kaeta!*, p. 137.
- 6 J.Natori, *Historical Stories of Christianity in Japan*, p. 21.
- 7 Letter of 12 January 1549 to Ignatius Loyola.
- 8 As for Cosme de Torres and João Fernandez, see nn. 30 and 47 for this chapter below.
- 9 While Anjiro is well known, not much is said about his two companions João and Antonio. They followed Xavier from Kagoshima to Hirado, Yamaguchi, Bungo and to India. Apparently they remained on Hirado when Xavier went to Kyoto, perhaps as Cosme de Torres' interpreters. Perhaps they later served as Xavier's interpreters in Bungo. See G.Schurhammer, *Die kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 24–25.
- 10 G.Schurhammer, *Epistolae S.Francisci Xaverii*, pp. 179–186 and E. Vitzthum, *Die Briefe des Francisco de Xavier 1542–1552*, pp. 139–144.
- 11 J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, p. 360 where Xavier's letter is quoted.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 361.
- 13 Father Cosme de Torres was no less impressed by the Japanese. He expressed that, among the peoples found in the world, they were the best. They showed curiosity and were immediately interested in what a new religion could offer. See his letter of 29 September 1551, found in G. Schurhammer, *Die Disputationen des P.Cosme de Torres S.J.mit den Buddhisten*, p. 48–49.
- 14 For the letter in the original, see G.Schurhammer, *Epistolae S. Francisci*, ii, pp. 179–188.
- 15 M.Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 24.
- 16 J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, p. 374.
- 17 The misconception that the Jesuits represented just a new Buddhist sect was not unnatural. As J.Murdoch writes:

The two cults were exceedingly like each other in ritual—the flowers on the altars, the candles, the incense, the rosaries, the images, the processions were common to both—while the shaven-headed missionaries from over the sea approved of every one of the ordinary five Buddhist commandments, and made a point of copying the bonzes closely in their manners and way of living. (J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 67)

A similar comparison is found in J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, p. 444. Brodrick adds that Xavier was astonished 'to find so many practices and institutions in Buddhism which closely resembled those of the Catholic Church' and wondered whether 'the religion of China and consequently of Japan had not been influenced either by the preaching of the Apostle St. Thomas or by contact with the later

Nestorian missions'. Duteil writes:

En Chine comme au Japon, les missionnaires européens semblent avoir été frappés par les similitudes plus que par les différences. Similitudes étonnantes! Dans l'habit des religieux et même dans leur pratique: du chapelet de confession, les bonzes semblent si exactement calqués sur les réguliers d'Occident que François-Xavier se laisse aisément induire en erreur. (J-P.Duteil, *Le rôle des Jesuites en Chine*, p. 11)

Further, W.E.Griffis says that 'the transition from the religion of India to that of Rome was extremely easy' and lists 37 aspects where the two religions were alike, adding 'etc, etc., etc.' W.E.Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, p. 252. As late as 1580 one finds the Christians referred to as *tenjiku-shū*, 'The Indian Sect'. K.Matsuda, *Nanbanjin no Nihonhakken*, p. 75.

18 Xavier came at a time when the Satsuma area was characterized by discord and civil strife. It was not until 1556 that Satsuma and Ōsumi were under Shimazu Takahisa's partial control and he could expand into Higo and Hyūga.

19 It should be noted that Xavier was aged 43 when he arrived in Japan, Cosme de Torres was 38, while Fernandez was only about 22. Due to age, it is therefore natural that Fernandez managed to learn Japanese better than the two others and after about a year could also act as an interpreter for Xavier. He had begun to learn the language from Anjirō and he could probably concentrate on learning the language more so than Xavier who was not only over 40 but also busy with other matters, not least visitors during the day and partly also during the night. It was therefore Fernandez who soon took over the job as interpreter and also did much of the preaching when he followed Xavier from Kagoshima to Hirado and Kyoto and then back to Hirado and last to Yamaguchi. The question is how Xavier managed when he left Yamaguchi for Bungo in September 1551 and Fernandez remained behind at Yamaguchi. There are three possibilities. The first is that Xavier by then knew enough Japanese that he could converse with the daimyo and others. The second possibility is that the enigmatic merchant Diogo Vaz (d'Aragão), who is reported to have lived in Bungo for five years and learned Japanese, acted as the interpreter. A third possibility could be that João and Antonio, who had been Xavier's followers since the day they came to Japan, acted as interpreters. If our reports are reliable, Xavier never learned enough Japanese to manage without an interpreter. See G. Schurhammer, *Die kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 11–13.

20 G.Schurhammer, *Die kirchliche Sprachproblem*, pp. 16–17.

21 It was a collection of 29 articles of faith and prayer. This *Dedaração dos Artigos da Fé* had been prepared by Xavier already in 1546 in his missionary work at Ternate. The Japanese version was somewhat modified. The declaration was later rewritten by Father Gago and perhaps others in 1556. See N.S.Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, pp. 19–20 and L.Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, p. 174 and pp. 311–313.

22 G.Schurhammer, *Der hl. Franz Xaver in Japan*, p. 15.

- 23 According to L.Frois, Xavier stayed ten months in Kagoshima. See G.Schurhammer's and E.A.Voretzsch's translation of L.Frois' *Historia de Japam* with the German title, *Die Geschichte Japans*, p. 6.
- 24 Bernardo later accompanied Xavier to Goa, and from there he travelled on to Lisbon and Rome, thus becoming probably the first Japanese to reach Europe. He died at Coimbra in Portugal in 1557. M. Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 36.
- 25 Quotations from J.Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 66, in these paragraphs.
- 26 One reason why the Portuguese hesitated to approach Kagoshima was the pirates. The *Tanegashima kafu* under Lord Tokitaka makes it clear that to sail into Kagoshima Bay could be dangerous for all traffic because of the pirates who were soon armed with the new muskets.
- 27 L.Frois relates that Anjiro finished his life as a *bahan* pirate on the Chinese coast. L.Frois, *Historia de Japam*, p. 18. Satsuma was at this time much involved in enterprises that combined commerce and piracy along the Chinese coast and it is perhaps not so surprising that Anjiro was drawn into these activities as soon as he was on his own and not under Xavier's direct influence. It is a guess that Anjiro joined the *wakō* reinforcements which went on fifteen ships in 1553.
- 28 The second servant, Manoel, is not mentioned. He had suffered an accident on the way to Japan and might have died or returned to Malacca earlier. G.Schurhammer, *Der hl. Franz Xaver in Japan*, p. 15.
- 29 This was the first Portuguese ship that reached Hirado. Xavier heard about the arrival at Kagoshima by the end of June 1550 and, hoping for news from India and Portugal, he hurried there on foot—and was much disappointed when there were no letters for him. This means that Xavier visited Hirado once before he finally left Kagoshima in August 1550. G.Schurhammer, *Der hl. Franz Xaver in Japan*, p. 16.
- 30 Cosme de Torres, S.J., was a native of Valencia, Spain, born about 1518 who, after four years wandering through Mexico 'searching for I know not what', joined forces with Xavier and sailed with him to Japan in 1549. On his departure from Japan, Xavier designated him the Superior of the Japanese mission; he laboured indefatigably in Yamaguchi and elsewhere until his death in Shiki in 1570. He was the soul of the early mission between 1552 and 1570. M.Cooper, *They Came to Japan, An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, p. 411; M.Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, pp. 38–40; and G.Schurhammer, *Die Disputationen des P.Cosme de Torres S.J.mit den Buddhisten*, pp. 11–14.
- 31 More exactly, on 17 December 1550.
- 32 Reported by L.Frois, *Historia de Japam*, p. 12.
- 33 Quotation from M.Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, Tokyo, 1971. The situation that met Xavier in Kyoto is well described in M.E.Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*, pp. 55–105 *passim*.
- 34 There was probably no one who could explain the triangular power play involving emperor, shogun and influential daimyo that was going on in Kyoto at the time. See J.W.Hall, 'The Muromachi Bakufu', in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 3, pp. 175–225, especially p. 225.
- 35 In a letter to the Jesuits at Goa of 5 November 1549, Xavier mentions Mount Hiei and Tendai among some six 'universities' in the Kyoto area, all Buddhist

establishments. For an English translation of part of this letter, see C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 401–105.

36 J.F.Moran, *The Language Barrier and the Early Jesuits in Japan*, p. 3.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 432.

38 It was some eight years later, in 1558, that the next Jesuit, Father Vilela, arrived in Kyoto and the missionary work began there. If we are to believe what Xavier says in a letter of 31 January 1552, he met a Portuguese at Kagoshima, Pedro Velho, who had visited Miyako (Kyoto) together with another Portuguese. It was this Pedro Velho who told Xavier that Miyako was larger than Lisbon with a flourishing university that had five colleges.

39 R.P.Henri Bernard, 'Les premiers rapports de la culture européenne avec la civilisation japonaise', in *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise*, Tomé Dixième, Numéro 1 (1938), p. 11.

40 J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, pp. 432–433.

41 In the contemporary chronicle about Ōuchi Yoshitaka (*Ōuchi-Yoshitaka-ki*) some of the gifts are described carefully while Xavier is only referred as the *tenjiku-jin*, the Indian. K.Matsuda, *Nanbanjin no Nihon-hakken*, pp. 71–72.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 439. According to L.Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, p. 179, the situation had been the same at Kagoshima where many people crowded around him and followed him to his home, not allowing him to study or pray.

43 It was probably Anjiro who began to use *Dainichi* for God when preaching in Kagoshima where the Shingon Sect was strong. Xavier accepted this term and *Dainichi* was used at Hirado and Yamaguchi until Xavier discovered that *Dainichi* differed in meaning from God. See G.Schurhammer, 'Von *Dainichi* zum Deus (1549–1551)', in *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem*, pp. 1–42.

44 See M.Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 138. *Deusu* is close in pronunciation to the Japanese word *daiuso*, meaning 'great lie', something the Buddhist priests lost no time to notice, taunting the Christians that they prayed to a great lie!

45 See G.Schurhammer, *Die Disputationen des P.Cosme de Torres S.J. mit den buddhisten in Yamaguchi im Jahre 1551, nach den Briefen des P. Torres und dem Protokoll seines Dolmetchers Br. Juan Fernandez S.J.*, Tokyo, 1929.

46 G.B.Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, pp. 117–118. The abbot's name was Ninjitsu and the temple's name was Fukushōji. See also J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, pp. 382–386 and G.Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver, sein Leben und seine Zeit*, pp. 73–79.

47 João (Juan) Fernandez, S.J., (1526–67) was a Spanish Jesuit, born in Cordoba, who sailed with Xavier to Japan in 1549 and accompanied him to Miyako (Kyoto). A pioneer of the Japan mission, he died at Hirado in 1567. He was the first European to learn Japanese and acted as an interpreter for later priests. M.Cooper, *They Came to Japan, An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, p. 409 and L.Frois, *Historia de Japam*, 1:21, n. 28.

48 J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, p. 446.

49 Pinto is otherwise amazingly correct in his description of Xavier's sojourn and travel in Japan. If one forgets the exaggerations and minor mistakes, the arrival in Japan, the way via Hirado to Kyoto, and the missionary work at Yamaguchi are

accurate as given in chapter 208 (pp. 468–471 in Catz’s translation).

50 J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, p. 447.

51 M.Steichen, *The Christian Daimyos*, p. 16.

52 L.Frois mentions that this ambassador became a Christian as he travelled the long way to India with Xavier and received the name Lourenço Pereira. Frois adds: ‘He lives today still in Bungo’.

53 Matteo and Bernardo never returned to Japan. Matteo died at Goa and Bernardo at Coimbra. João and Antonio returned to Japan and served as interpreters. Bernardo was probably the first Japanese to visit Europe.

54 This miracle is described in Pinto’s *Peregrinação*, Ch. 214 (pp. 489–493 in R.D.Catz’s translation). Pinto even gives the date of 17 December 1551 for the miracle.

55 Quotation found in E.A.Robertson, *Francis Xavier, Knight Errant of the Cross, 1506–1552*, p. 186.

56 It was only a generation later, in 1583, that Jesuits established themselves in Canton. Matteo Ricci reached Peking in 1595. Before then, Jesuits were at Macao soon after this Portuguese colony had been established in 1557. See, for example, G.B.Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, p. 109.

57 See translation of *Historia de Japam* by G.Schurhammer and E.A. Voretzsch with the title *Die Geschichte Japans (1549–1578)*. ‘Frois (1532–1597) was either an eyewitness of events that he described or had knowledge of them from his colleagues in the mission field’. G.B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, p. 115.

58 Father Gago was *en route* discharged from the mission and sent to Japan where he served as a missionary for nine years in Bungo. Illness forced him back to India where he died in 1561.

59 See E.A.Robertson, *Francis Xavier, Knight Errant of the Cross*, p. 196. This ‘Schmugglerparadies’ in the Canton area was the same island which he had approached on his way from Japan less than a year earlier and where Pereira gave him the idea about China.

60 G.Schurhammer, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, ii, pp. 518–521. English translation in J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, p. 523 (emphasis added).

61 The story about Xavier’s death is given in a letter by his companion and interpreter Antonio who was together with him on Sancian Island. There has been some controversy about the date of his death. Antonio’s letter has decided the question. Xavier died in the small hours, probably 2 a.m., of Saturday, 3 December 1552. J.Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, p. 526. See also A.Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*, pp. 7–9.

62 This means that the Portuguese trade with China had been on a clandestine basis over a 30-year period.

63 C.R.Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770*, pp. 31–32, and *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xxxii.

64 This report about Lampacau comes from A.Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*, p. 9. When it is stated that the port of Sancian was closed, we can imagine that it was shut for trade. Father Belchior and his party were

allowed to visit Xavier's grave and so were others on the way to and from Japan.

Perhaps it was this traffic to Xavier's grave that made the Chinese authorities apprehensive and made them concentrate the Portuguese (trade) to Lampacau, where they had them under close control. Ljungstedt seems to think so.

65 As for the establishment of Macao, a small inhabited peninsula at the entrance to the Bay of Canton, see Ch. 5 above, especially n. 63.

66 It is a strange coincidence that both Pinto and Father Belchior date their letters from Macao. They must have meant Canton—or can they possibly have visited also Macao? Officially the Portuguese were only established at Macao two years later, in 1557.

67 The letters by both Father Belchior and Pinto are found in R.D. Catz's *Cartas de Fernão Pinto e outros documentos*, pp. 59–73. Belchior is spelled Melchior in these letters. In the *Peregrinação* the name is spelled Belchior. Both letters are of interest, not least Father Belchior's which contains one of the earliest Western descriptions of China, that is, after Marco Polo.

68 See C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*.

69 Quotation from Xavier's letter to Goa (5 November 1549), English translation in M.Cooper, *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of Euro-pean Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, p. 289.

70 Translation found in Hubert Cieslik, S.J., 'The Training of a Japanese Clergy in the Seventeenth Century', in Joseph Roggendorf, ed., *Studies in Japanese Culture, Tradition and Experiment*, p. 41.

71 For comparison, remember that the earliest European globe was made by Martin Behaim in 1492. See L.Zögner, 'Martin Behaim in das vorkolombianische Weltbild' in L.Zögner et al., *Die Welt in Händen, Globus und Karte als Modell von Erde und Raum*, pp. 43–45. Japan has a fanciful position on this globe.

72 For Luís d'Almeida and his medical work in Japan, see M.Yamazaki, *Kusuri to Nihonjin*, pp. 145–150.

73 Y.Fujikawa, *Geschichte der Medizin in Japan*, p. 36.

74 Some 29 titles are registered. See *Kirishitan-ban*, ed. by the Tenri Library, Kyoto, 1953.

75 M.Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, pp. 139–144.

76 N.S.Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, p. 81.

77 M.Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 19.

78 C.R.Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, p. 42.

79 R.S.Ozaki, *The Japanese, A Cultural Portrait*, pp. 42–45.

Kanji Glossary

Akōgi 赤尾木 (also Akaogi)
Akusekijima 悪石島
Anbō 安房
Annōmura 安納村 Village.
Arai Hakuseki 新井白石
Aritome Iga no kami 有留伊賀守
Asai Nagamatsu 浅井長政
Asakura Yoshikage 朝倉義景
Ashikaga Yoshiharu 足利義晴
baishin 陪臣
Bubishi 武備志
choju, 鳥銃
chōkyū no setsu 重九之節
chōrō 張良
chōtō 重当
Ch'ou-hai t'u-pien 籌海圖編 (Jpn. Chukai zuhen)
Chū (Tadashi) Shuso 忠首座 (Shuza)
dai 台
daikan 代官
Danjō no chū 彈正忠
dori 道理
emakimono 絵巻物
Endō Yozaemon no suke 遠踏与佐衛門
Fuji no gomon 踏之御紋
Furuichi Nagato no kami 古市長門守
Furuichi Sanuki no kami 古市讃岐守
Furuichi Tanba 古市丹波
Furuichi Toneri 古市舍人
Fusō 扶桑
Gajajima 臥蛇島
gogōsen 五号船
Gohō (Ch. Wu-feng) 五峯
Goki 五畿
Goshu 江洲
gubu 供奉
Gūshū 隅州
hakugin 白銀

Hachiman Daijin 八幡太神
 Hekizan nichiriku 碧山日録
 Hidaka Kai no kami 日高甲斐守
 Hidaka Oki no kami 日高隠岐守
 Higo no kami Tokinori 肥後守時典
 hinawa-jū 火縄銃
 Hino 日野
 Hirase 平瀬
 Hirayama Bichū no kami Tomoshige 平山備中守友重
 Hirayama Mikawa no kami Tomotsugu 平山三河友統
 Hisamichi 久路
 Hisamoto 久基
 hitsudan 筆談
 Hōjō-godaiki 北条五代記
 Hōki no kami 伯耆守
 Hokke Ichijō 法花一乗
 hokuteki 北狄
 Honnōji 本能寺 Temple
 Hōshō'in-dono Nisshō Daikōji 法性院殿日勝大居士
 Hu Tsung-hsien 胡宗憲 (Jpn. Ko Shuken)
 Huan-ma-ni-ya-kuo 荒ま尼屋国
 Hyūga 日向
 Iehisa 家久
 Inatomi School 稲富流
 Inryōkan nichiroku 陰涼幹日録
 Intoku-taiheiki 陰徳太平氣
 Inukusumarū 犬楠丸
 Iōjima 硫黄島
 ishibiya 石火矢
 Ishihara 石原
 Issō 一湊
 Iwakawa Iki no kami Morimasa 岩河壱岐守盛
 Iyaku 意約
 Izumi 和泉
 Izumo no kami Tokinori 出雲守時述
 Izumo no kami Tokitsura 出雲守時連
 Jaku 若
 jitō 地頭
 jijusai-ryū 自由齋流
 Jijutoshi 自由都市
 Jionji 慈遠寺
 Jo 徐 (Ch. Shu)

jūgoi no ge 從五位/下
 Jūjōin 住乗院
 Jukō 珠幸
 jūshū 十襲
 jūyaku 重訳 (して)
 Kachō 可釣
 Kadokura Cape 門倉岬
 Kaga no kami 加賀守
 kaiwaku 解惑
 kaizoku-chōji-rei 海賊停止令
 Kajiki 加政木
 Kajiwaru Mondo 梶原主水
 kamikaze 神風
 kangō 勘合
 kangō bōeki 勘合貿易
 kankaku 棺槨
 kanryō 菅領
 kaseda 加瀬田
 kenjōmono 献上物
 Kinai 機内
 ki 気
 kinjū 禽獸
 Kinoshita Tōkichirō 木下踏吉朗
 Kirishita da Mōta 喜利志多佗猛多
 Kisatsu 季札 (Ch. Chi-tsa)
 kishin 氣神
 Kishū 紀州 (Kii)
 Kiyotoki 清時
 kōdai no setsu 交代の節
 Kōda Shigetomo 幸田成友
 kogatana no hasaki 小刀の刃先
 Konoe Taneie 近衛植家
 Ko-rozan 小廬山
 Ko-tenjiku 小天竺
 Kōzuma Awa no kami Ietsugu 上妻阿波守家統
 Kōzuma Ietsugu 上妻家統
 Kōzuma Takanao 上妻高直
 kozutsu 小筒

Kuchinoerabujima 口之永良部島

Kukinaga 莖永

Kumano 熊野

Kumonjō 雲之城

Kunikami Hitachi no suke Tokitake 国上常陸助時武

Kunitomo 国友

kunitomo-ryū 国友流

Kunitomo teppōki 国友鉄砲記

Kurokawasaki 黒川崎

Kuroki Michizumi 黒木道純

kutsugō 岨濠

kyaku 客

kyūba 弓馬

Lao Tzu 老子

Lord Nisshin 日新公

Lord (*taishu*) Shimazu Shūri Taifu Yoshihisa Ason 大守島津修理太夫義久朝臣

Maenohama 前ノ浜

Makise 牧瀬

marukibune 丸木舟

Masako 政子

Masegawa 万瀬川

Masuda Village 増田村

Mato hajime-shiki 的初式

Matsura Takanobu 松浦隆信

Matsushita Gorōsaburō 松下五郎三郎

Meguri 廻

meisho-zue 名所図絵

menboku 面目

Minamoto Daijin-kun 源太神君

Ming Shih 明史

min-jusha 明儒者

Mōko-shūrai-ekotoba 蒙古襲来絵詞

Mononobe Magozaemon 物部孫佐衛門

Moritoki 守時

Motojima Hiroshi 本島洋

mudō 無道

Murashukusha 牟良叔舍

myōyaku 妙薬

Nagano Heizaemon	長野平左衛門
Nagata Castle	長田城
Nakamura Heishirō	中村兵白郎
Nakanoshima	中の島
nanban	南蛮
nanbansen	南蛮船
nanbantetsu	南蛮鉄
nankai jūnitō	南海十二島
Nanpo Bunshi	南浦文之
Nanseigō	南星恨
Nantō ikō-den	南島偉功伝
Naotoki	直時
Naruse Hayato no shō Masanari	成瀬隼人正正成
Negoro	根来
Negoro teppō brigade	根来徹砲集
Nejime Etsuzan	禰寝悦山
Nejime Magojirō	禰寝孫二郎
Nejime Tatsuyoshi	根占勝善
Nejime Ukondayu Shigenaga	禰寝右近大夫重長
Nichigaku	日学
Nichiō tsūkōshi	日欧通交史
Nigōsen	二合船
Ning-po	寧波
Nippon dai-teppō	日本大鉄砲
Nishimura Tokihiko (Tenshū)	西村時彦 (天囚)
Nishimura Iki no kami Tokiyo	西村壺岐守時与
Nishimura Oribenōjō Tokitsura	西村織部丞時貫
Nishimura Iki no kami Tokihiro	西村壺岐守時弘
Nishimura Oribenōjō	西村織都丞
Nishimura-shi keizu	西村氏系図
Nishi(no)mura	西村
Nishinoomote	西之表 西之表
Nisshū	日州
Nobumoto	信基
Noma Jirōsaemon Ienari	野間二郎左衛門家成
Oda Nobunaga	織田信長
Ōgimachi'in	正親町院
Ogyū Sorai	荻生徂徠

Ōmine	大峯
Oribenojō	織部丞
Ōshima Zenbee	大島善兵衛
Ōsumi	大隅
O-tama	お玉
Ōtomo kōhai-ki	大友興廃記
Ōtomo Yoshiaki	大友義鑑
Ōtomo Yoshishige	大友義鎮, (Sorin 宗麟)
Ōuchi-Yoshitaka-ki	大内義隆記
rokugōsen	六号船
reibō	礼貌
reihō	礼砲
ryō	両
ryōshu	領主
Ryūgenji	竜源寺
Ryu-kyu Islands (Liu-Ch'iu)	琉球
Sahyōe no jō	佐兵衛尉
Saiga	雜賀
saiga-to	雜賀党
Saitō Shinshirō	斎踏新四郎
Sakada	坂田
Sakai	堺
sakai-ju:	堺銃
sakai-tanji:	堺鍛磁
sakoku	鎖国
Sakon no shōgen	左近将監
Sameshima Toshō no suke Yoshimasa	鮫島図書助義正
sanjaku	三尺
Sasakawa (or Shinokawa) Koshirō Tokishige	篠 (笹) 川小四郎時重
satetsu	沙鉄
seijū	西戎
seinanban	西南蛮
Shang-ch'uan-tao	上川島
Shibushi	志布志
Shichidō	七道
Shichigōsen	七号船
Shimazu Sasuga no kami Tadaoki	島津流石守忠興
Shimazu Satsuma no kami Tadayoshi	島津薩摩守忠良

Shimazu Shisaku	島津四作 (Takahisa 貴久)
Shimazu Takahisa	島津貴久
Shimazu Yoshihisa	島津義久
shinjō	新城
shokō	諸侯
Sōshū	相州
Suwanosejima	諏訪之瀬島
Taira no Kiyomori	平清盛
Taira no Yukimori	平行盛
Takarashima	宝島
Takezaki no Ura	竹崎浦
Tamagusuku	玉城
Tanegashima	種子島
Tanegashima Danjō no chū-dono	種子島彈正忠殿 (Tokitaka)
Tanegashima-fu	種子島譜
Tanegashima Hisatoki	種子島久時
tanegashima-jū	種子島銃
tanegashima-ryū	種子島銃
Tanegashima seitō keizu	種子島正統家譜
Tanegashima Shigetoki	種子島恵時
Tanegashima Tokitaka	種子島時堯
Tanegashima Tokikuni	種子島時邦
Taneie	植家
tebiya	手火矢
tenjiku-jin	天竺人
tenjiku-shū	天竺宗
tenka no ri	天下の理
tenka taihei	天下大平
tenri	天理
teppō	鉄砲
Teppō denrai kikō-hi	鉄砲伝来紀功碑
Teppō denraikō	鉄砲伝来考
Teppōki	鉄砲記
Teppōmata	鉄砲又
teppō-tai	鉄砲隊
tōi	東夷
tōjin-machi	唐人町
Tokimitsu	時充
Tokimochi	時望

Tokitaka 時堯

Tokiuji 時氏

Tokoro Sōkichi 所莊吉

Tominaga Tokusaemon 富永徳佐衛門

Tosa no kami Tokihiro 土佐守時広

totōsen 渡唐船

‘To see what is small clearly that is called clarity’ 見小いはく明

Tsuda Kenmotsu Kazunaga no jō 津田監持算長丞

Tsuboi Kumazō 坪井九馬三

tsuda-ryu 津田流

Tsumagari Jinbee 津曲甚兵衛

Tsumagari Mikawa no kami 津曲三河守

Uchida Uemonnohyōe 内田上衛門兵衛

uchijō 内城

Uchi no ura 内ノ浦

Udaijin Hideyori 右大臣秀頼

umi no kataganagari-rei 海の刀狩令

waboku 和睦

wajin 倭人

Wakasa 若狭

Wakasa koen 若狭公園

Wake Yozaemon 和氣与佐衛門

Wakisaka Sukedayu 脇坂助大由

wakō 倭(和)寇

Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada 八板金兵衛清定

Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichiryū no keizu 八板氏清定一流系図

Yajirō 弥次郎

Yakuda 屋久田

Yakushima Island 屋久島
Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行
Yoritoki 頼時

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Index

References to figures and maps in bold italics

- a Fé e o Imperio* ('for the Faith and for the Empire') 113
ad majorem Dei gloriam ('for the greater glory of God') 113
Akōgi (today's Nishinoomote) 1, 27, 43, 75, 90
Akusekijima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1
Alvares, Jorge (merchant) 21, 22, 76, 86, 148 (n. 87)
Amadomari (harbour) 38
Amador (Xavier's servant) 113, 116, 118
Amaterasu (sun goddess) 93
Anbō (on Yakushima) 33
Anegawa (battle, 1570) 63, 96, 100, 101, 177 (n. 11)
Anjiro (also Angero, Yajiro) 22, 77, 113, 171 (nn. 29–32), 182 (nn. 5 and 9), 185 (n. 27)
Annōmura (village on Tanegashima) 1, 34
Antonio (Christian convert and Xavier's interpreter) 79, 116, 182 (n. 9)
Arai Hakuseki (Japanese scholar) 112
Asai Nagamatsu (daimyo) 100
Asakura Yoshikage (daimyo) 100
ashigaru (foot soldiers) 100
- baishin* (samurai) 91
Barreto, Francisco 84
Barros, João de (historian) 70
bathing 148 (n. 89)
Belchior, Nunes, Father 81, 84, 173 (nn. 54–55), 188 (n. 66)
Bernardo (Japanese Christian) 79, 116, 184, 186 (n. 53)
Bōnotsu (port in Satsuma) 111
Borralho, Cristóvão 13, 73.
 See also Portuguese:
 identity of first
Boxer, C.R. (author) 57, 123
Bubishi (historical work) 16
Buddhism 24, 48
 Hokke Ichijō 28
 Jesuit disputations with 86.
 See also Xavier
 (Lotus) Nichiren ~ 3, 28, 48
 Shingon Sect 120
 Tendai 118, 186 (n. 35)
Bungo (province) 5, 143 (n. 30), 161 (n. 52)

- daimyo. *See* Ōtomo (daimyo family)
- expansion 5, 64, 88, 108
- See also* Mimikawa
- first Portuguese at 20, 24–5, 53, 67, 73–5, 88, 116
- Pinto visits 54, 73–88 *passim*
- spread of *têppo* to 12, 73–92, 108, 111
- wars with Satsuma 38, 47, 69
- Xavier arrives at 79, 120, 125
- see also* Fuchō;
- Xavier
- bushi* (samurai class) 48, 92

- Cabral, Francisco (priest) 62
- cannon 181 (nn. 24–25)
 - Ieyasu's interest in 55
 - manufacture 93, 98, 99, 101, 175–6 (nn. 16–17), 176 (n. 22)
 - pirates equipped with 54, 63–4, 159 (n. 17), 165 (n. 86)
 - as presents 108, 110–1, 112, 180 (n. 4)
 - use in warfare 62, 94, 104, 108–10, 179 (nn. 8–9)
 - see also* *ishibiya*;
 - mortars;
 - ozutsu;
 - teppo
- Canton 80, 122, 123
- Captain Major (Capitão-Mór) 60.
 - See also* *nanbansen*
- carrack. *See* *náo*
- Catz, Rebecca D. (author) 72
- Cervantes' *Don Quixote* 88
- charcoal 12
- Chenchicogi* (Japanese name for 'Indians') 73, 169 (nn. 11–12)
- China 21, 27, 28, 30, 53
 - Japanese trade with. *See* *kangō* missions
 - Portuguese reach 21
 - wāko* raids on. *See* pirates and piracy;
 - wāko*
 - see also* Canton, Chincheo, *Ming Shih*, Ning-Po
- Chincheo (Ch'uan-chow) (Chinese port 1, 21, 23, 77
- Chōkyū no setsu* (Chrysanthemum Festival) 10, 28, 151 (n. 23)
- chōrō* (abbot) 91
- Chū (Tadashi) Shuso (Shusa) (Buddhist monk) 27, 91, 151 (n. 14)
- Ch'uan-tu-lieh-tun-na* (historical work) 90
- Cocks Richard (British merchant) 110, 180
- Collis, Maurice (author) 70
- Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalboquerque* 61
- commerce 55–60.
 - See also* *kangō* missions
- Confucius 51

- Cooper, M. (author) 24, 115
 Couto, Diogo do (author) 12, 23–4, 148–9 (100)
- Da Mota, Antonio 13–6, 23.
See also Portuguese:
 identity of first
- Da Mōta, Kirishita. *See* Kirishita da Mōta
daikan (local administrator, intendant) 93
- Dainichi. *See* Vairochana
- D’Albuquerque, Afonso, conquers Malacca 54, 61.
See also *Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalboquerque*
- D’Almeida, Luis (missionary, surgeon) 68, 168 (n. 113)
Danjō no chū (samurai title) 34
Década Quinto da ‘Ásia’ (literary work) 23–4
Descobrimentos antigos e modernos 23, 50.
See also Galvano
- Diez, Pero 21, 23
 disputations. *See* Xavier
- emakimono* (picture scroll) 3
 emperor 47.
See also Kyoto
- Eisei era (1504–20) 90
- Escalante, Garcia [Alvarado] de (merchant) 21, 67
- Fang Hsüan-ling 90
- Faria, Antonio de (merchant) 86
- Faria, Jorge de (merchant) 24
- Fernandez, Juan (João), Brother (missionary) 113, 115, 117, 121, 186 (n. 47)
- Freitas, Diogo de 14, 21, 24
- Frois, Lois or Luís (missionary, author) 24, 60, 79, 80, 85, 121
História de Japam by 24, 121.
- Fuchō (today’s Ōita) 121, 76, 82, 120.
See also Bungo
- Fuji no gomon* (crest) 94
- Fukien Gazetteer* (Chinese history) 57
- Fukue Island (Fukue-jima, one of the Gotō Islands) 65.
See also Gotō Islands;
 Wang Wu-feng
- Funai. *See* Fuchō
- Furuichi Tanba (samurai) 36
- Furuta Gozen (Lady Furuta) 155 (n. 24)
- Fusō (name for Japan) 30, 153 (n. 38)
- Gago, Balthasar (priest) 122, 187 (n. 58)
- Gajajima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1
- Galvano, Antonio (historian) 5–13, 23–4, 146 (n. 56)
- Gama, Duarte da, captain 68, 76, 80, 121, 167 (n. 212), 172 (n. 38)

- Genki era (1570–1572) 38
 Gifu, location 94, 96
 ‘giving up the gun’ 178 (n. 13–15)
 Goa 23, 122
 God and Mammon 182 (n. 2)
 Gohō (Ch. Wu-feng, also Wang Chih), Chinese corsair xi, 10, 12, 27, 43, 63, 64–6, 90, 96, 140 (n. 6), 158 (n. 18).
 See also pirates and piracy;
 Wang Wu-feng
 Goki (Five Central Provinces) 30, 93
 Go-Nara (emperor) 80
 Gores 61, 164 (n. 78)
 Goshi (imperial palace) 118
 Gōshū (in Ōmi province) 95
 Gotō Islands 1
 wāko stronghold 63, 65, 158 (n. 18), 167 (n. 100)
 see also wāko;
 Wang Wu-feng
 gunpowder, introduction of 12, 36
 Gūshū. *See* Ōsumi province
- Hachiman Daijin (Daibosatsu, Shinto deity) 92, 93
 Hagenauer, M.C. (French professor) 20
 Hakata (port on Kyushu) 55, 59, 116
 Hashimoto Ippa (samurai) 93, 99
 helical technique 175 (n. 13)
hidalgo (Port.: *fidalgo*, ‘gentleman’) 22, 44
 Hideyoshi. *See* Toyotomi Hideyoshi
 Higo (province) 64, 168 (n. 116), 184 (n. 18)
hinawa-jū (muzzleloader) 142 (n.18)
 Hino (smithery) 97, 105.
 See also teppō, production of
 Hirado (port on Kyushu) 63, 97
 Dutch and English at 110, 180 (n. 12)
 Portuguese arrival 53, 60, 67–8, 180 (n. 12), 185 (n. 29)
 teppō reaches 53, 180 (n. 13)
 trade with China 170 (n. 26)
 wākos and 65, 110, 166 (n. 100).
 See also wāko
 Xavier visits 116
 Hirase (smith) 4
 Hirase Iwami 37
 Hirayama Bichū no kami Tomoshige (samurai) 35
 Hirayama Mikawa no kami Tomotsugu (samurai) 35
 Hirayama, Toshio (businessman) xi
História da Igreja do Japão. *See* Rodrigues, João, Tçuzzu
História de Japam. *See* Frois, Luís
History of Ming. *See* Ming shih

- hitsudan* (brush conversation) 27
- Hōjō (daimyo family)
- ~ Sakyō Taifu Ujiyasu (daimyo) 91
 - ~ Tokimasa (daimyo) 40
 - ~ Ujiyasu (daimyo) 63, 97
- Hōki no kami (samurai) 32
- Hokke Ichijō. *See* Buddhism
- Hokusai (painter) 17
- illustration by 17
 - manga collection 19
- Hongenji (temple in Akōgi) 35, 36
- Honnōji (temple in Kyoto) 32
- Hora, T. (historian) 47, 66
- Hosokawa (daimyo family) 55
- ~ Harumoto (daimyo) 92, 98
- hyakuhatu-hyakuchū* (100 shots, 100 hits) 28–9, 36.
- See also* Tanegashima Tokitaka
- Hyōeshirō (Kunimoto smith) 92–5, 98
- Hyūga (Nisshū) (province, today's Miyasaki) 27, 68, 151 (n. 15), 154 (n. 16)
- coalition against Satsuma 44.
 - See also* Nejime
 - conquest by Satsuma 64, 111, 181 (n. 20), 184 (n. 18)
 - invasion by Bungo 38, 48, 69.
 - See also* Toyotomi Hideyoshi;
 - Mimikawa
 - war with Satsuma 154 (n. 16), 154 (n. 22), 156 (n. 10)
 - see also* Itō Yoshisuke
- Ichigōsen* (ship name) 56.
- See also* *kangō* missions
- Ijichi (on Kyushu) 38
- Ilha de Jampon* ('Island of Japan') 22
- Imō (on Yakushima) 33
- Inatomi* (military school) 112
- Inomoto, M. (author) xi
- Iōjima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1
- iron, imported 63
- Ise Nagato no kami (samurai) 36
- ishibiya (musket or cannon) 94, 176 (n. 22).
- See also* cannon;
 - teppo
- Ishida Mitsunari (daimyo) 100
- Ishihara (smith) 4
- Itō Yoshisuke 37, 154 (n. 22)
- Iwakuni (today's Hiroshima), visited by Xavier 117
- Izumi (province) 9, 30
- Izumo (province) 32–3
- Izumo no kami Tokinori 32–3, 34, 44

- Jaku (god of the sea) 30
 Java 20
 Jesuits 22–3, 183 (n. 17), 187 (n. 56).
 See also Buddhism;
 Xavier
jijūsai-ryū (military school) 112
 Jionji (Buddhist temple in Akōgi) 3, 140 (n. 11)
 Jipangu (Marco Polo's Japan) 21
jitō (samurai administrator) 38
 Jo (Ch. Shu) (Chinese lord) 28, 152 (n. 29)
 João (Japanese Christian convert) 79, 116, 182 (n. 9)
jusha (Confucian scholar) 36
jūyaku (double interpretation) 28, 66

 Kadokura Cape (on Tanegashima) 1
 Kagoshima (capital of Satsuma) 22, 42, 49, 50, 111, 115
kaizoku-chōji-rei 156 (n. 16)
 Kajiwara Mondo (samurai) 37
 Kamada Owari no kami Masatoshi (samurai) 38
kami (Shinto gods) 30
kamikaze (divine wind) 90
kana (syllabary script) 3
kanbun (Chinese script) 6, 56
 Kan'ei era (1624–43) 95
kangō bōeki (exchange trade) 56, 158 (n. 20).
 See also China
kangō missions 56, 59, 159 (n. 20).
 See also China
kanpaku (Imperial Chancellor, regent) 47, 156
Kansai (central Kyoto area) 52
katakana (syllabary script) 16, 97
katana sword 39
 Kawachi no kami Tokiyuki (samurai) 32–3, 34
 Kawanakajima (battle, 1555) 100, 101, 165 (n. 82)
 Keichō era (1596–1614) 100, 112
 Kii province (today's Wakayama) 5
 Kimotsuki (domain in Satsuma) 38
 Kinbee Kiyosada 29, 92.
 See also Yaita
 Kinoshita Tōkichirō. *See* Toyotomi Hideyoshi
 Kirishita da Mōta 12, 16, 27, 33.
 See also Portuguese:
 identity of first
 Kisatsu (Ch. Chi-tsa) 28
 kishin (spiritual mind) 91
Kishū. *See* Kii
 Kōan era (1278–87) 90

- Kōchi era (1555–57) 99
- Kōda Shigetomo 16
- Kokubu (fortress in Satsuma) 37
- komanaku* (swan target) 28
- Konoe Taneie 36, 47, 156
- Korea 21, 56, 58–9, 94
- Korean war (1592–98) 44, 100, 110
- Ko-rozan (Little Rozan, Lu-shan) 29, 152 (n. 33)
- Ko-tenjiku (Little Tenjiku or India) 29, 152 (n. 34)
- Kōzuma Awa no kami Ietsugu 38, 42–3
- kozutsu* (firearm) 94
- Kuchinoerabujima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1, 12, 36, 154 (n. 19)
- Kuchinoshima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1
- Kuchinotsu 68
- Kumano (bay on Tanegashima) 1, 29, 33, 144 (n. 41)
- Kumonjō (in Nishinoomote) 7
- Kunitomo (in Ōmi province) 96
 - gunsmiths. *See* Hyōeshirō;
 - Kunimoto Zenbee;
 - Sukedayu;
 - Tōkyūsaemon
 - teppō* production 96–101;
 - brought under outside control 100, 107;
 - story of. *See* Kunitomo *teppōki*
- kunitomo-ryū* (military school) 112
- Kunitomo teppōki* (historical work) 54, 96–101, 106, 111
 - original text 134–8
 - translation of 90–5
- Kunimoto Zenbee (Kunimoto smith) 92–5, 98
- Kuroki Michizumi (samurai) 37
- kyaku* (guest) 27
- Kyoto 46
 - first Portuguese visitors 68, 185 (n. 38)
 - Xavier visits 117–8
 - see also* emperor;
 - Miyako

- Lampacau (island by Canton) 80, 84, 123, 162 (n. 62), 187 (n. 64)
- Langasaque. *See* Nagasaki
- Lao Tzu (philosopher) 51
- Las islas de Japan* ('the islands of Japan') 21
- lead, metal 12, 146 (n. 54)
- Lequjos (Lequeos) 22, 59.
 - See also* Ryukyu Islands
- Liampo. *See* Ning-po
- Lisbon 21
- Lotus Nichiren Buddhism. *See* Buddhism
- Loyola, Ignatius 22, 124

- Macao 68, 162 (n. 63), 163 (n. 72)
- Maenohama (on Tanegashima) 1
- Maffei, Giovanni 77, 172 (n. 26)
- Makise 4
- Malacca 12, 22, 24, 60, 80
 - Pinto and 72–87 *passim*
 - Portuguese conquest 21, 54, 61
 - Ryukyuan merchants at 58, 62
- Marco Polo 22, 61, 64, 146 (n. 59)
- Masako 40
- Mascarenhas, Dom Francisco 58
- Mascarenhas, Francisco de 84
- Mascarenhas, Jorge 59
- Masegawa 32
- Matsuda, K. 20, 148 (n. 79)
- Matsura Takanobu (daimyo) 53, 180 (n. 13)
- Matsushita Gorōsaburo 30, 52, 62
- Matteo 187 (n. 53)
- Meacó (Miyako: Kyoto) 24
- Meguri (battle, 1561) 36, 110, 154 (n. 18)
- meisho-zue* (picture chronicle) 16
- Mello, Simão de 78
- Mimikawa (battle, 1578) 64, 110, 112
- Minamoto Daijin-kun. *See* Tokugawa Ieyasu
- Minamoto Nobusada (samurai) 36
- Minamoto no Yoritomo (shogun) 40
- Ming China. *See* China
- Ming Shih* (Chinese dynastic history) 159 (nn. 29 and 31)
- min-jusha* (Ming scholar) 36, 65, 66
- Miyako (=Kyoto) 32, 36, 48, 118
- Miyoshi (daimyo family) 63
- Moluccas (islands) 21
- Mōko-shūrai-ekotoba* (picture scroll) 3
- momme* (silver money) 93
- Mondo no suke Tokimori (samurai) 37
- Mononobe Magozaemon (samurai) 32
- mortars 181 (n. 22).
 - See also* cannon
- Mota, Antonio da. *See* Da Mota, Antonio
- Motojima Atsushi (author) 16
- Münchhausen, Baron von (adventurer, liar) 88
- Murashukusha (one of the first two Portuguese) 7, 10, 12, 16, 27, 33.
 - See also* Portuguese:
 - identity of first
- Murdoch, J. (author) 40
- musket. *See* *teppō*
- musket warfare, musketry. *See* *teppō*, use in warfare

- Myōkuji (temple) 35
myōyaku (gunpowder) 28, 36
- Nagahama Castle (in Ōmi province) 93, 99, 176–7 (nn. 11–13)
 Nagano Tairaemon Hideaki (samurai) 36
 Nagasaki (port on Kyushu) 60, 68, 110, 162 (n. 66), 174 (n. 66), 180 (n. 12), 181 (n. 15), 181 (n. 24)
 Nagashino (battle, 1575) 63, 100, 101, 177 (n. 20)
 Nagata Castle (on Yakushima) 33, 36
 Nakamura Shinya (sculptor) 42
 Nakanoshima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1
nanban (southern barbarians) 20–1, 116
nanban byōbu (screens of the southern barbarians) 116
nanbangaku (Western studies) 125
nanbanryū geka (Western surgery) 125
nanbansen (southern barbarian ship) 7–11, 12, 20–1, 49, 52, 141 (n. 10).
 See also Captain Major;
 náo
nanbantetsu (iron brought by southern people) 63
nankaijūnitō ('twelve islands in the southern sea') 1, 40, 155 (n. 1)
 Nanking 66
 Nanpo Bunshi (Confucian philosopher, author) 19, 27, 43–4, 50, 66, 151
 See also *Teppōki*
Nantō ikō-den (historical work) 15
náo (carrack) 45, 75
 náo de prata (silver carrack) 59
 see also Captain Major;
 nanbansen
 Naotoki. *See* Tanegashima Tokitaka
 Naruse Hayato no shō Masanari (samurai) 94
 Nautaquim (Naotoki). *See* Tanegashima Tokitaka
necodá (captain) 66
 Negoro (Buddhist centre, Kii province) 4, 12, 52, 91, 97–8, 100, 103, 142 (n. 23), 176 (n. 9), 178 (n. 7)
 obtains *teppō* 5, 14, 52.
 See also Suginobō;
 Tsuda Kenmotsu no jo
 teppō brigade 106, 178 (n. 9)
 teppō production at 63, 98, 103–4, 106–7, 178 (n. 9)
 Nejime (domain) 33, 141 (n. 14)
 conquest, loss and later attacks on Yakushima. *See* Yakushima
 independence of 156 (n. 11)
 invasion of Tanegashima 32, 34–6, 43, 47
 Tanegashima attacks on 37, 156 (n. 11)
 war with Satsuma 38, 44, 45, 47, 48, 156 (n. 11), 166 (n. 95).
 See also pirates and piracy
 see also Nejime Ukondayu Shigenaga
 Nejime (domain family) 166 (n. 95)
 ~ Etsuzan 37

- ~ Magojirō (samurai) 38
- ~ Tatsuyoshi (samurai) 36
- ~ Ukondayu Shigenaga (domain lord) 32, 35, 36–7, 43–4, 45, 156 (n. 11)
- New Spain, Mexico 21
- Nichiō tsūkōshi* (historical work) 16
- Nichiren. *See* Buddhism
- Nigōsen* (ship name) 34, 56.
- See also kangō* missions
- Nikai-kuzure no hen* 85.
- See also* Ōtomo Yoshiaki
- Ning-po (also Liampo), Chinese port 1, 14, 21, 29, 142–3 (n. 29), 153 (n. 37), 164
- nippon teppō* 33, 46.
- See also teppō*
- Nishimura (family in service to the Tanegashima) 140 (n. 5)
- house chronicle. *See Nishimurashi keizu*
- ~ Iki no kami Tokihiro (samurai) 32, 33, 35, 36
- ~ Oribenōjō Tokitsura (Tokimasa) (samurai) 1, 3, 27, 33, 35, 43, 51, 65, 91, 97, 151 (n. 7).
- See also teppō*:
- arrival of
- Nishimura Echizen Tokiyasu (samurai) 38, 39
- Nishimura Suō no kami Tokikuro (Tokiharu) (samurai) 37
- Nishimura Tokihiko (Tenshū) (scholar) 15
- Nishimura-shi keizu* (house chronicle) 140 (n. 5)
- Nishi(no)mura 1, 3, 33, 67, 140
- Nishinoomote. *See Akōgi*
- Nisshin-kō (lord). *See* Shimazu Tadayoshi
- Nisshō (abbot) 32
- Nisshū. *See* Hyūga
- Nobumoto. *See* Tanegashima Nobumoto
- Nobunaga. *See* Oda Nobunaga
- Noma Jirōsaemon Ienari (samurai) 32–3
- Nyūdō (lay priest) 32, 34

- Ōchoku. *See* Wang Wu-feng 65
- Oda Nobunaga (war lord) 92–3, 96, 99, 176 (nn. 9, 11–12)
- death 100, 104
- first to understand importance of *teppō* 63, 92, 100, 165 (n. 82)
- gains control of *teppō* foundries 100, 104, 177 (n. 16), 180 (n. 9)
- success based on *teppō* 25, 63, 96, 97, 100
- see also* Ōtomo Yoshishige
- Odawara, *teppō* reaches 63, 98
- Ōgimachi'in (retired emperor) 94
- Ogyū Sorai (philosopher) 112
- Okehazama (battle, 1560) 100, 177 (n. 12)
- Okinawa 1, 179 (n. 5).
- See also* Ryukyu Islands
- Okinohama (port in Bungo) 120, 121
- Ōmi (province) 91–2

Ōnin Civil War (1467–77) 59, 103

Oribe(nojō) Tokimasa. *See* Nishimura Oribenōjō

Osaka Campaigns (1614–15) 55, 94, 101.

See also Kunitomo;

Tokugawa Ieyasu

Ōsumi (Gūshū) (province) 17, 27, 33, 64, 90, 111, 156 (n. 11), 166 (n. 95)

Nejime a domain within 141 (n. 14), 156 (n.11).

See also Nejime

Satsuma expansion into 64,111, 156 (n. 11)

see also Gūshū;

Satsuma

Ōtomo (daimyo family) 3, 20, 59, 111

house chronicle. *See* Ōtomo kōhai-ki

~ Haruhide. *See* Ōuchi Yoshinaga

~ Yoshiaki (daimyo) 5, 25, 37, 76, 85, 86.

See also Nikai-kuzure no hen

~Yoshishige(Sōrin) (daimyo) 38, 47, 53, 64, 68, 76, 108, 111, 149–50 (n. 107); 154 (nn. 22 and 25), 169 (n. 17), 179 (n. 4);

Christian conversion 24, 120;

wars with Satsuma. *See* Bungo;

and Xavier 87–8, 120, 121

trade and piracy connections 59, 65.

See also kangō missions;

Wang Wu-feng

see also Bungo

Ōtomo kōhai-ki (house chronicle) 24, 111

Ōuchi (daimyo family) 55

~ Yoshinaga (daimyo) 86, 121, 174 (n. 62), 179 (n. 4).

See also Pinto:

1st visit

~ Yoshitaka (daimyo) 116, 121, 185 (n. 41)

trade and piracy connections 59, 65, 118.

See also kangō missions;

Wang Wu-feng

see also Yamuguchi

ōzutsu (cannon) 94.

See also cannon

Patani 21

Peitaro 14

Peregrinaçam 14, 21, 45, 66, 68–84, 167–8 (nn. 2–4), 169 (n.17)

title page 70

see also Catz;

Pinto

Pereira, Diogo 122

Pexoto, Antonio 13,14, 23.

See also Portuguese:

identity of first

Philippines 21

Pinto, Fernão Mendes (merchant and author) 15, 24, 45, 70–88, 167 (n. 1)

1st visit 13, 24, 65, 72–5, 77, 86–8, 110, 140 (n. 4), 169 (n. 17), 172 (nn. 36–37).

See also Ōuchi Yoshinaga;

Tanegashima Tokitaka;

teppō: arrival of

2nd visit 45, 75–8, 85, 87.

See also *Nikai-kuzure no hen*

3rd visit 72, 78–80, 85–6.

See also Xavier

4th visit 73, 80–5.

See also Ōtomo Yoshishige

see also *Peregrinação*;

Portuguese:

identity of first

pirates and piracy 5, 38, 44, 47–9, 54, 68, 110, 113, 118, 156 (n. 16), 159 (n. 27), 165 (n. 86)

attacks on China 59, 66, 159 (n. 31), 161 (n. 54), 167 (n. 100, 102).

See also *wakō* involvement of daimyos. *See* Hirado;

Ōtomo (daimyo family);

Ōuchi (daimyo family);

Satsuma

Portuguese involvement 59.

See also Portuguese

and trade 55–62, 65, 79, 156 (n. 16), 162 (n. 66), 165 (n. 80), 185 (n. 27).

See also Ōtomo (daimyo family);

Ōuchi (daimyo family);

Satsuma

use in warfare. *See* Nejime;

Satsuma

use of muskets and cannon 47, 54, 63–4, 165 (n. 82), 165 (n. 86), 179 (n. 9), 185 (n. 26).

See also *teppō*, use in warfare

see also Gohō;

wakō

Portuguese

arrival of first (in Japan) 1–28 *passim*, 40, 44–8 *passim*, 66–8, 86, 88;

as depicted by Hokusai 17.

See also Pinto:

1st visit

identity of first 12–6, 88.

See also Borralho, Cristóvão;

Da Mota, Antonio;

Kirishita da Mōta;

Murashukusha;

Pexoto, Antonio;

Pinto;

Zeimoto, Francisco

lack of manners, propriety (*reibō*) 27, 82

and piracy 59, 60, 61, 143 (n. 31), 162 (n. 63), 170 (n. 28)

ships in Japan, list 167 (n. 115)
 as welcome visitors 54, 108, 110
see also Captain Major;
 Jesuits;
náo;
 Tanegashima;
 Xavier

rangaku (Dutch studies) 110
 Reischauer, Edwin O. (author) 20
 ri (distance) 28
 Ricci, Matteo (missionary) 121, 124
 Rodrigues, João (Tçuzzu, missionary) 15, 24, 86, 88, 147 (n. 63)
História da Igreja do Japão by 14, 24, 86
see also Jesuits
ryō (gold currency) 29
 Ryūgenji Temple 27
 Ryukyu Islands (Liu-Ch'iu) 22, 29, 145 (n. 51), 159–60 (nn. 39–42)
 as axis of regional trade 22
 identification with Gores 59, 61, 164 (n. 78)
 Pinto visits 75
 Portuguese reach 19, 21, 148 (n. 84)
 relations with Tanegashima 58, 165 (n. 80)
 rise and fall of commercial position 58–9
 Satsuma's control of 58, 62, 159 (n. 39)
 trade with Japan via 12, 20–1, 56, 57–8, 61
 wide extent of trade 54, 58–9, 161 (n. 49)
 woman as interpreter 3, 66, 141 (n. 12)
see also Lequijos;
 Okinawa

Saiga (foundry, Kii province) 100, 178 (n. 9)
 Sakai (in Izumi province) 4, 35, 55, 59, 103–4, 142 (n. 22), 179 (n. 9)
 external trade 56, 59, 179 (n. 5).
See also kangō missions
 free city (*jijū-toshi*) 104
teppō production at 12, 52, 97, 100, 103–5, 178 (nn. 3–4);
 brought under outside control 100, 107
 Xavier visits 117
sakai-jū, Sakai *teppō* 104, 178 (n. 4)
sakai-tanji ('forged in Sakai') 103
sakoku (national seclusion) 112
 saltpetre 12
 Sancian (Sanchão, Shang-ch'uan[- tao], island by Canton) 80, 121, 123, 173 (n. 44).
See also Xavier
 Sasakawa (or Shinokawa) Koshirō Tokishige 12, 36, 91
satetsu ('sand iron') 142 (n. 21)
 Satsuma (province) 22, 40, 46, 57, 64

- coalition against 44
- daimyo. *See* Shimazu (daimyo family)
- disunity in 64, 183 (n. 18)
- domination and later conquest of Ryukyus 58, 62, 159 (n. 39).
- See also* Ryukyu Islands
- expansion into Higo, Hyūga and Ōsumi 64, 111, 156 (n. 11), 184 (n. 18);
- ~ halted and reversed by Hideyoshi 64
- feudal support from Tanegashima 44, 47, 156 (n. 10)
- participation in *wakō* raids 57
- piracy problems 44, 47, 156 (n. 11).
- See also* Nejime
- trade with Ryukyus 61
- unification of 64, 111, 183–4 (n.18)
- wars with Bungo 38, 47, 68
- wars with Nejime 38, 44, 45, 47, 48, 156 (n. 11), 166 (n. 95)
- Schall, Johann Adam (missionary) 121
- Schurhammer, G. (author) 24, 25, 89
- sea travel 146 (n. 61)
- seinanban* (barbarians from the southwest) 27
- Sekigahara (battle, 1600) 55
- seminario* 55
- sengoku* (country in war) 13, 44, 118, 146 (n. 55)
- seppuku* (*harakiri* suicide) 95
- Shang-ch'uan-tao. *See* Sancian
- Shichidō (Seven Roads) 30, 94
- Shimabara Incident (military revolt) 44
- Shimazu (daimyo family) 20, 33, 42
 - blood ties with Tanegashima 42
 - ~ Iehisa (Satsuma lord) 64
 - ~ Shūri Taifu Yoshihisa Ason. *See* ~ Yoshihisa
 - ~ Tadayoshi (Lord Nisshin) (Satsuma lord) 37, 64, 154 (n. 23)
 - ~ Takahisa (Satsuma lord) 46, 64, 91, 111, 116, 153 (n. 5)
 - ~ Yoshihiro (Satsuma lord) 64
 - ~ Yoshihisa (Satsuma lord) 32, 33, 36–8, 42, 64, 91, 175 (n. 7)
 - title of *shugo daimyo* 64
- Shimobe no Shinbō (abbot) 92
- Shimonoseki, strait of 119
- Shingon Sect. *See* Buddhism
- Shinogawa Saemonbyōe (samurai) 34
- Shintoism 48
- shokō* (princes, lords) 95
- shoshi* (guardsman) 37
- shugo daimyo*. *See* Shimazu (daimyo family)
- Siebold, P.F. von (German physician) 15, 17, 112
- Siam 17
- silk 77, 170 (n. 26)
- slaves 57, 77, 170–1 (n. 28)
- Sōrin. *See* Ōtomo Yoshishige

- Sōshū, Lord Nisshin. *See* Shimazu Tadayoshi
- Sousa, Leonel de (Captain Major) 123
- Suginobō (priest at Negoro Temple) 10, 28–9, 51, 91, 97, 158 (n. 5)
- Sukedayu (Kunimoto smith) 92–5, 98
- sulphur 12
- Suma Oriental* (historical work) 22
- Suwanosejima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1
- tabako 1
- Tables Chronologiques* 20
- Tachi sword 39
- Tachibanaya Matasaburō 5, 9, 29, 52, 92, 98, 35
- Taira no Kiyomori (hegemon) 40
- Taira no Yukimori (samurai) 40
- Tairajima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1
- Taishu Yoshihisa. *See* Shimazu Yoshihisa
- Takajō Castle 39
- Takarashima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1
- Takeda Shingen (daimyo) 36
- Takeshima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1, 36
- Takezaki Bay (no Ura) 1, 32
- Tamagusuku, Ryukyuan woman 3
- Tamaryū no bō (monk) 92
- Tanegashima (family) xi, 40–2
- blood ties with Shimazu 42
 - house chronicle. *See Tanegashima kafu* origins and rule of island 40
 - ~ Byōbu no jō Tokitaka. *See* ~ Tokitaka
 - ~ Danjō no chū (-dono). *See* ~ Tokitaka
 - ~ Hisamichi, 23rd generation 42
 - ~ Hisamitsu, 24th generation 42
 - ~ Hisamoto, 19th generation 10
 - ~ Hisanao, 25th generation 40
 - ~ Hisatoki, 18th generation 27, 155
 - ~ Kiyotoki, 8th generation 42, 50
 - ~ Moritoki, 27th generation 40
 - ~ Naotoki (Tokitaka as child) 32, 34–5, 40, 43–5, 73, 75.
- See also* ~ Tokitaka
- ~ Nobumoto, 1st generation 40, 156 (n. 8)
 - ~ Shigetoki, 13th generation 1, 27, 33–4, 152 (n. 12), translation of chronicle 32–4, *passim*
 - ~ Tadatoki, 12th generation 48, 156 (n. 18)
 - ~ Tokikuni, 29th generation x, 40;
- picture 40
- ~ Tokimitsu, 6th generation 42
 - ~ Tokimochi, 28th generation 40
 - ~ Tokitaka, 14th generation 1, 4, 19, 27, 30, 33, 68;
- accorded title Sakon no shōgen 36;
- statue of 40;

- translation of chronicle 34–40.
- See also* ~ wars with Nejime (below)
- ~ Tokitsugi, 15th generation 36, 45
- ~ Yoritoki, 7th generation 42
- wars with Nejime 32–7 *passim*, 43, 45–6, 47, 142 (n. 28), 156 (n. 11)
- Tanegashima (island) 21, 24, 43, 140 (n. 2), 178 (n. 5), *et passim*
- arrival of first Portuguese 1–28 *passim*, 68.
- See also* Portuguese
- centrality of 165 (n. 80)
- feudal support for Satsuma 44, 47, 156 (n. 10)
- granted to Tanegashima family 40
- infested by pirates 154 (n. 8).
- See also* Nejime (domain)
- links with Ryukyus 57–8, 165 (n. 80)
- one of the 12 southern islands 1
- as Satsuma fief 5, 40–2
- wars with Nejime. *See* Tanegashima, family
- tanegashima-jū* (tanegashima musket) 3
- Tanegashima kafu* xi, 12, 13, 16, 19, 32–40
- translation, 42
- scope, 40–9
- discussion, 50, 1
- Tanegashima seitō keizu*, chronicle 42
- tanegashima teppō* 3, 5, 6, 19, 32–4, 46
- tebiya* (musket) 4
- tempura 4
- Tenbun era (1532–54) 90
- Tendai. *See* Buddhism
- Tenjiku* (India) 29, 115
- tenjiku-jin* (Indian) 168 (n. 12)
- tenka no ri* (world principle) 28
- tenka taihei (grand peace of the world) 91
- tenri* (truth of Heaven) 91
- teppō* (musket) 3, 4, 7–10, 28, 33–4
- arrival of 3
- contingents 106, 178 (n. 9)
- as *kachin* house treasure 9, 28, 33
- picture 4
- power of (*teppō no ikioi*) 93
- production of. *See below*
- role in unification of Japan 6, 96, 97–8, 125
- spread of. *See below*
- in warfare. *See below*
- see also* cannon;
- Tanegashima
- Teppō* Museum (*Teppō-kan*, in Nishinoomote) 4, 142 (n. 26)
- teppō*, production of
- first musket on Tanegashima 3–11.

- See also* Yaita
- at Hino 100
- at Kunitomo. *See* Kunitomo
- at Negoro. *See* Negoro
- Nobunaga gains control of 100, 104, 177 (n. 16), 179 (n. 9)
- at Saiga 100
- at Sakai. *See* Sakai
- teppō*, spread of 5–6, 104
 - to Kunitomo 91–2
 - on Kyushu 108–12
 - to Negoro 5, 14, 52.
- See also* Sugi- nobō;
- Tsuda Kenmotsu no jōto Odawara 63, 97
- to Sakai 5, 52; 178 (n. 3)
- teppō*, use in warfare 62–4, 100, 165 (n. 82)
 - battles 63, 165 (n. 82).
- See also* Anegawa;
- Kawanakajima;
- Meguri;
- Mimikawa;
- Nagashino;
- Okehazama;
- Sekigahara
- early 63, 181 (n. 20)
- reconquest of Yakushima. *See* Yakushima
- at sea 38, 47, 63–4.
- See also* pirates and piracy
- see also* Oda Nobunaga;
- Tokugawa Ieyasu;
- Toyotomi Hideyoshi
- Teppōki* ('Record of the Musket') xi, 12, 13, 19,
 - translation 27–32, 45, 50, 62, 151
- See also* Nanpo Bunshi
- Teppōmata* ('the Teppō Master') 29, 52
- Thunberg, Carl Peter (Swedish physician) 182 (n. 24)
- Tidore (island in the Moluccas) 21
- tōjin-machi* (China-town) 61
- Tōkaidō (route from Kyoto to Edo) 30
- Tokikuro (see Nishimura Tokikuro) 37
- Tokimitsu. *See* Tanegashima Tokimitsu
- Tokitaka. *See* Tanegashima Tokitaka
- Tokitsugi. *See* Tanegashima Tokitsugi
- Tokoro Sōkichi (historian) 16, 19
- Tokugawa Ieyasu (shogun) 63, 93, 100, 107, 176
 - interest in teppō 54–5, 100, 104
 - and unification of Japan 96, 100, 145 (n. 55)
 - use of Kunitomo smiths 100
- see also* Osaka Campaigns;

- Rodrigues, João
 Tōkyūsaemon (Kunimoto smith) 92–5, 98
 Tomé Pires (historian) 22, 149 (n. 96), 164 (n. 77)
 Torres, Cosme de 113, 120–1, 185 (n. 30)
totōsen (ship to China) 34
 Toyotomi Hideyoshi (daimyo) 63, 100
 ban on swords 156 (n. 16)
 halts expansion of Satsuma 64
 successor to Nobunaga 104
 supervision of Kunitomo smiths 93
 and unification of Japan 96, 104, 145 (n. 55)
Tratado Decobrimientos Antigos e Modernos (Galvano) 14
 Tsuboi Kumazō (historian) 15–6
 Tsuchii Ōi no suke Toshikatsu (samurai) 95
 Tsuda Kenmotsu no jō (Kazunaga) 5, 29, 52, 106, 177 (n. 9)
Tsuda-ryū (military school) 112
 Tsukushi (Kyushu) 92
- uchijō* 35
 Udagawa, T. 66
 Udaijin Hideyori (Hideyoshi's son) 94
 Uesugi Kenshin (daimyo) 63
umi no kataganagari-rei (Hide-yoshi's ban on swords) 156 (n. 16)
The United States and Japan (E.O.Reischauer) 20
 Urata, on Tanegashima 1, 32, 34
- Vairochana (the Sun Buddha, Dainichi) 120, 185 (n. 43)
 Vaz (d'Áragão), Diogo (merchant) 25, 67, 121
 Velho, Pedro 68
 Verbiest, Ferdinand (missionary) 121
 Vikings, robbers 56
 Vilela, Gaspar (missionary) 104, 179 (n. 7), 186 (n. 38)
 Villalobos, Ruy Lopez (Spanish explorer) 21
- waboku* (reconciliation) 94
wajin (Japanese) 90
 Wakasa (the *teppō* maiden) 6–11, 145 (nn. 47–49)
 poem 10, 145 (n. 43)
 see also teppō, production of;
 Yaita
Wakasa kōen (Wakasa Park in Nishinoomote) 6
 Wake Yozaemon (samurai) 38
wakō (pirates, piracy) 5, 55, 118, 159 (n. 25), 167 (n. 103)
 adoption of *teppō* 143 (n. 32)
 centres. *See* Gotō Islands;
 Hirado;
 Yamaguchi nationality of 143 (n. 31)
 see also Gohō;

- pirates and piracy;
- Wang Wu-feng
- Wang Chih. *See* Wang Wu-feng
- Wang Wu-feng (Jpn. Ō Gohō, also Wang Chih, Jpn. Ōchoku) 64–6, 166–7 (nn. 97–100).
See also Gohō;
- wako
- Wei-cheng (Chinese scholar) 90
- women on ships 170 (n. 20)
- Wu-feng. *See* Gohō;
- Wang Wu- feng

- Xavier, Francis (first missionary to Japan) 22, 25–67, 72, 113–24, 181 (n. 1), 182 (n. 3), 184 (n. 19)
 death 80, 123–, 187 (n. 61).
See also Sancian
 disputations 80, 172–3 (n. 41)
 leaves Japan 121
 miracle of the sloop 80, 121
 portrait 114
 visits Bungo 79, 120, 125.
See also Ōtomo Yoshishige
 visits Hirado 116
 visits Iwakuni (Hiroshima) 118
 visits Kyoto 117–8
 visits Sakai 118
 visits Yamaguchi 117, 118–20

- Yaita Kinbee Kiyosada (smith) 4–6, 142 (n. 25), 46, 52
- Yaita-shi Kiyosada ichiryū no keizu* (chronicle of Yaita family) 6,7–10, 46
- Yajirō. *See* Anjiro
- Yakushima (one of the 12 southern islands) 1, 12, 141 (n. 13)
 conquered by Nejime 35,44
 later Nejime attacks on 36, 47
 reconquest by Tanegashima 3, 5, 33, 45–6, 142 (n. 28)
 Shigetoki flees to 32, 43
see also Nejime;
 Tanegashima
- yamabushi* (mountain priests) 92
- Yamagawa (Satsuma province) 22, 76
- Yamaguchi (province) 67, 85, 116, 118
 daimyo. *See* Ōuchi (daimyo family)
 Xavier visits 116–7, 118–20
- Yokoseura (port on Kyushu) 68
- Yoshiharu (Muromachi shogun 1521–45) 92, 97
- Yoshimitsu (Muromachi shogun 1367–95) 55, 92
- Yoshimochi (Muromachi shogun 1395–1428) 55
- Yoshinaga, Hayashi (author) xi

Yoshinori (Muromachi shogun 1428–41) 55

Yoshiteru (Muromachi shogun 1545–65) 63, 99, 110, 118

yūhitsu 36

Zeimoto, Francisco (Diogo) (one of the first Portuguese in Japan) 10, 12–3, 23, 72–3.

See also Galvano;

Portuguese:

identity of first

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